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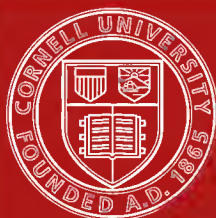
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LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY

Syllabus of Lectures  
on  
International Conciliation

BY

DAVID STARR JORDAN

AND

EDWARD BENJAMIN KREHBIEL

(PRINTED FOR CLASS USE, NOT PUBLISHED)  
JANUARY, 1912



# **The International Peace Movement**

## **Syllabus of Lectures by President Jordan and Professor Krehbiel of Stanford University**

Nothing more impressive, more thorough or more hopeful bearing upon the great movement for the supplanting of the present war system of nations by the system of law and reason in the settlement of international disputes has ever been published than the Syllabus of Lectures on International Conciliation given at Stanford University by President David Starr Jordan and Professor Edward B. Krehbiel, which is just issued by the World Peace Foundation in Boston. The work was originally prepared as a syllabus for the use of the students of Stanford University attending a course of lectures on this subject given by the authors during the last two university years, the material being arranged solely to meet the needs of those hundred students from the upper classes of the university. The interest shown in the courses by the students, and in copies of the syllabus coming into the hands of some of the leading peace workers of the country, was so deep that Dr. Jordan and Professor Krehbiel have revised and greatly enlarged the syllabus; and it is now given to teachers and the public in a solid, paper-covered volume of 180 pages. Nothing could reveal more strikingly the wonderful advance of the peace movement in our time, the variety and breadth of the interests now involved in it, the searching and scientific character of the study being devoted to it, or the wealth of its literature. The history of warfare, the evils of war, the historical background of the present peace movement, the beginnings of a world legislature, the beginnings of a world judiciary, the conditions tending to promote international amity, and the means of promoting peace are brought out in this syllabus of thirty-seven lectures, with their various subtitles, in a manner never done before. The value of the syllabus for the professors in other universities and colleges where similar instruction is rapidly being organized will prove no greater than its value for lecturers and teachers everywhere who in various ways are addressing themselves to the treatment of this commanding cause. It is an inexhaustible magazine of argument and reference for peace workers in every field of the movement. Nowhere else perhaps has the literature of the movement been so thoughtfully collected and so well classified; and the work should be in every public and university library, to meet the needs of students. Dr. Jordan and Professor Krehbiel have rendered a notable service to every worker for the great cause to which they are themselves so constantly and intelligently devoted. The Syllabus will be sent by mail for \$1.00 to any address.

WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION,  
29A Beacon St., Boston, Mass.





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## SCHEDULE OF LECTURES.

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- I. The Growth of Peace through Law.
- II. The Literature of the Subject.

### **The Evil: War.**

- III. History of Warfare.
- IV. Causes and Conditions producing War.
- V. War Scares and Armament Syndicates.
- VI. Japan and The United States.

### *The Economic Evils of War.*

- VII. Economic Consequences of Past Wars.
- VIII. The World's War Equipment and Expenditure.
- IX. The Public Debts of Nations.

### *The Biological Evils of War.*

- X. War's Toll in Dead and Wounded in the Past.
- XI. The Biology of War.

### *The Social and Moral Evils of War.*

- XII. The Social and Moral Effects of War.

### **The Case For and Against War.**

- XIII. The Brief for War.
- XIV. The Brief for Peace.
- XV. "The Great Illusion." (Fallacy of the current conception that war is economically beneficial.)
- XVI. Different Types of War in Modern Times.

## The Remedy.

Enlargement of the powers of the Hague Conferences (World Legislature), and of the Hague Tribunal (World Judiciary) in the direction of a code and sanction of law superior to individual powers (World Federation); ultimately disarmament and peaceful settlement of all international disputes.

### *What Has Been Done in This Direction.*

- XVII. Peace Advocates and Projects of the Past.
- XVIII. The Restriction of Force through the Development of Law.
- XIX. The History of International Law.
- XX. Laws Governing International Relations in Time of Peace.
- XXI. International Rules for War. (Restriction of Force.)
- XXII. The Development of International Arbitration.
- XXIIa. Examples of International Arbitration.
- XXIII. Treaties of Unlimited Arbitration.

### THE WORLD LEGISLATURE.

- XXIV. The First Hague Conference, 1899.
- XXV. The Second Hague Conference, 1907.

### THE WORLD JUDICIARY.

- XXVI. International Courts.
- XXVII. Cases Tried and Pending in International Courts.

### *Forces Working Toward International "Rapprochement."*

- XXVIII. The Shrinkage of the Earth. (Virtual decrease in the size of the earth through the improvement of means of transportation and communication.)
- XXIX. Cosmopolitanism. (The world's common life.)

### *Means of Promoting the Abolition of War.*

- XXX. Means of Antagonizing War.
- XXXI. Education for Peace.
- XXXII. World Federation.
- XXXIII. Present Peace Workers.
- XXXIV. Summary Lecture.



# SYLLABUS OF LECTURES

## ON

### INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION

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#### I. THE GROWTH OF PEACE THROUGH LAW.

(Jordan)

*Law*, the expression of right.

*Right*, the best way of doing things among men,—that which makes for strength, happiness and life.

*Peace*: the duration of law; the absence of violence in social and political relations.

“La Paix est la durée du Droit.”—(Bourgeois.)

*War*, the expression of “unreasoning anger.”

Coordinated and legalized violence to accomplish political ends. Meaning of battle, riot, brawl.

Kingdoms, homogeneous groups headed by a king.

Empires, groups of kingdoms more or less completely ruled through force by an emperor.

A nation a region in which people are at peace among themselves.

*Civil war*, due to failure of functions of a nation; law-forming and law-enforcing (Cabinets, parliaments and courts).

The road from absolutism towards democracy.

*International war*, war between recognized nations.

Virtually prohibitive through its gigantic expense. Prevented by treaties of arbitration.

*Imperial war*, war against weak, lawless or barbarous nations.

By no means over. “The Great Illusion.” The belief that a nation is enriched by conquest or by expansion of jurisdiction over unwilling people.

Who is to judge?

“The Mirage of the Map,” the belief that power or glory goes with unprofitable extensions of jurisdiction.

Primitive man always subject to war. The life of every primitive man or woman, as of every wild animal, is a tragedy.



Barbarian man violent, but not warlike, because neighbors have nothing to plunder.

War and peace have existed from time men wrote no history.

Extension of mutual help.

The growth of law. Primaeval arbitration.

Tribal war; feudal war; the vendetta; piratical war; baronial war; municipal war; religious war; trial by ordeal: ordeal of war; the duel; civil war; international war. Was as "God's great test of the Nations."

International war, the only legalized form of wholesale killing; the only stronghold of "unreasoning anger in the councils of the world"; a relic of Mediaevalism: the "Holy Roman Empire," the ideal of one nation and one religion.

Mutual hatred and mutual distrust along the boundaries of tribes.

The old patriotism as tribal loyalty.

The new patriotism as faith in humanity.

Commerce, science, common interests of men are wider than the borders: Missions, "Internationalism," "La Vie Internationale."

Peace, as agreement among politicians.

Peace of exhaustion.

Peace of bankruptcy armed to the teeth. "The beggar crouching by the barrack-door."—(Gambetta.)

Peace of mutual respect and mutual understanding.

"The old Peace with the velvet-sandaled feet."—(Noguchi.)

Peace of the English-speaking countries. The Canadian border the best illustration of international peace.

*Compromise and co-operation*, the condition of national prosperity.

Also the condition of international peace.

War may sometimes be inevitable, it may be righteous, but only when no other redress exists.

It is the business of civilization to provide other means of redress, other methods of adjusting differences.

Cooperation and Competition, Egoism and Altruism are two principles forever active in organic life, always present in human history.

Growth of in-groups; competition with out-groups. Coalescence of in-groups into tribes and nations. Development of peace within in-groups. Competition within in-groups lead to feudal wars.





War as an impostor. Courage, self-restraint, magnanimity, daring are not caused by war, but shown against its lurid background. Brave men chosen as soldiers; being fighters does not make men brave. Every war shows cowardice, murder, arson, graft and leaves a trail of personal and national demoralization.

War as illegal. "Inter arma leges silent." Law and truth are silent when war is on.

The righteous cause no guarantee of success at arms.  
"God on the side of strong battalions."

War as immoral. That killing is made legal by war does not change its nature.

"If you take a sword and draw it,  
And go stick a fellow through,  
Government's not to answer for it,  
God will send the bill to you!"

War as a counter-irritant to democracy.

"Gild the dome of the Invalides."

War for glory, for territory, for plunder. Gain through war no longer possible.—"The Great Illusion."

War as costly.

(Consult the tables in the appendix for the public debt of nations about 1908.)

The French cartoons:

The farmer and the marquis.

The farmer, the soldier, and the bondholder.

War as a business contrasted with war for plunder.

The Unseen Empire of Finance: the houses of Rothschild, Cassel, Stern, Goldschmid, Perreire, Günsberg, Hirsch, Mendelsohn, Bischoffsheim, Warschauer, Warschafski, Sassoon, Montefiore, Fould, and their allies. "Das Consortium" of bankers.

War as destructive of virility.

Reversal of selection.

Breeding from inferior stock the primal cause of "the drooping spirit" of Europe.

A nation must be judged, not by its military power, not by its art, its science, its bankers or its universities, but by the status of its common man. What are the opportunities granted to the men of the rank and file? In what degree are these men able to grasp these opportunities? The effect of war is to limit these opportunities, and to leave the common man too weak to grasp such as may exist.



## II. THE LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECT.

*(Krehbiel)*

## A. The character and quality of peace literature.

## 1. Literature casually pertinent to the subject.

Articles in newspapers; periodicals, editorials, addresses, dresses, pictures, cartoons, socialist and other literature.

## 2. Literature devoted to the promotion of peace.

## a. Critique of war.

Religious writings. Sermons, tracts, etc.

Works of peace advocates and societies.

Peace periodicals (see appendix).

Fiction (see appendix).

Biography of peace advocates, etc.

Reports of peace organizations of all kinds.

Scholarly investigations of war and its consequences.

Historical studies.

Economic studies.

Philosophical studies.

Biological studies.

## b. Constructive literature, which advocates some plan of abolishing war. (See the later lectures of the course.)

## B. Suggestions for library work.

## C. Instructions for thesis work.

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Mead: *Literature of the Peace Movement*.

Brooklyn Public Library: *International Peace: A list of books with references to periodicals*, 1908.

Arena, 12, 138-144.

Library of Peace and War. Four lists of the best hundred books on peace and war. (Speaker Publishing Co., 1907.)

Association for International Conciliation: *Monthly Bulletins of books, pamphlets, and magazine articles dealing with international relations*.

Peace Year-Book, 1911. *Bibliography*.



## III. HISTORY OF WARFARE

*(Krehbiel)*

## WARFARE ON LAND

## A. Ancient Period.

## 1. Eastern nations.

## a. Offensive weapons.

Shock weapons: sword, club, mace, lance, pike, axe, dagger, curved sabre, spear (also missile).

Missile weapons: barbed javelin, sling, bow and arrow, spear (also shock).

Artillery: balista, catapult, maginall.

## b. Defensive armor.

Shield, greaves, helmet, cuirass (outside of Greece).

In Greece: belt-band, tunic, breast-plate, corslet.

## c. Military organization and methods.

Infantry predominant.

Armies of great size: Xerxes had nearly a million men in his expedition against the Greeks.

Soldiers untrained. (Exception: Macedonia.)

Provisioning: forage and plunder.

Treatment of the enemy whether combatant or not: killed or mutilated, or enslaved.

## d. Tactics.

Rudimentary (excepting Macedonia: phalanx, long file and narrow column).

## e. Fortifications: protective and strategic centers.

Permanent fortifications; no field fortification.

Underground passages, moats, turrets.

## 2. Rome.

## a. Offensive weapons.

Shock weapons: short sword, spatha (long sword), pilum, dagger, broadsword, thrusting-pole, lance, axe.

Missile: spear, javelin, bow and arrow.

## b. Defensive armor.

Round shield, buckler, greaves, chain cuirass, tunic, scutum, helmet, breast-plate.

## c. Military organization, and methods.

Infantry predominant.

Armies of smaller size than in east.

Standing armies. Mercenaries (under the Empire).

Provisioning: mainly forage and plunder.

Treatment of the enemy: enslaved or ransomed.

## d. Tactics.

Armies well drilled. Strategy well developed.



*e.* Fortifications. For protection.

Cities walled; few military strongholds.

*B.* Mediaeval Period. (Western Europe.)

1. Offensive weapons. Not much improved over past.

*a.* Shock weapons: sword, lance, axe, mace, leaden mallet, long knives, pike, halbert, two-handed sword.

*b.* Missile weapons: long-bow, cross-bow, fronde, spear (Scotland), sling.

Artillery: as in earlier period, but less used.

2. Defensive armor: most highly developed of any age.

*a.* Early middle ages. Mail armor, principally. Helmet, hauberk, shield, hood of mail, leg-bands, glaives, surcoat, breast-plate, back-plate, greaves, bairns, etc.

*b.* Later middle ages. Plate armor, chiefly.

3. Military organization and methods.

*a.* Cavalry predominant. Chivalry.

*b.* Armies of moderate size. Lords and their retainers.

*c.* Provisioning: forage, devastation, plunder.

*d.* Prisoners: ransomed or mutilated.

4. Tactics.

Individual fighting chiefly; little organized fighting.

5. Fortifications.

Practically impregnable in many cases.

Highly important in warfare as places of refuge.

6. Martial courage in the middle ages.

*C.* Modern Period. (Projectile or missile weapons: firearms.)

1. Offensive weapons. Much in advance of defensive appliances.

*a.* Bow and arrow.

*b.* Long bow. First used at Falkirk, 1289; Crécy, 1346; in rural France until 1630; in China in 1860.

2. Firearms. Began to be used about 1330. Gunpowder.

*a.* Explosives.

Greek-fire; Roman candles. Name of inventor unknown.

Gunpowder used in firearms beginning ca. 1330.

Improvements in explosives.

Large grain powder. Pressed powder.

Xyloidine, 1835 (Pelouze).

Gun-cotton, 1845 (Schönbein).

Nitro-glycerine, 1846 (Sobrero).

Gun-cotton improved, 1863 (Nobel), 1865 (Abel).

Dynamite, 1865 (Nobel).

Sprengel explosives, 1873.

Blasting gelatine, 1878 (Nobel).





Nitro compounds (smokeless).  
 E. C. powder, 1882 (Reid).  
 B. N. powder, 1886 (Vieille).  
 Ballistite, 1888 (Nobel).  
 Cordite, 1888.  
 German smokeless powder.  
 Maximite, 1903.  
 Imperial Schultze.  
 Snyder explosive (1910).

Lyddite.

*b.* Loading.

Muzzle loader.

Breech loader: ca. 1540. Abandoned. Readopted  
 ca. 1700. Uncommon until 1865.

*c.* Ignition.

Match-lock, 1484.

Wheel-lock, 1517.

Flint-lock, 1635.

Percussion cap, 1807 (Forsyth), for small arms.

Needle-gun, Prussia ca. 1840.

Electric, 1891, used only in naval ordnance.

*d.* Field artillery.

The earliest cannon.

Used at Cambrai, 1338.

Mortar guns, invented in Germany, ca. 1575.

Howitzer, invented in England, ca. 1575.

Iron shot displaces stone.

Artillery classified by Gustavus Adolphus.

Mobile and immobile.

Siege guns: mortars.

Horse artillery, ca. 1759, by Frederick the Great.

Four pounders. Introduced into France by Gribeauval.

Case shot, 1807.

Shrapnel, 1808.

Rifled cannon, Prussia, 1870.

Time fuses, France, 1870.

Percussion caps for large ordnance, Germany, 1870.

Rapid fire guns, 1891. Made possible by mastery  
 of the recoil.

Time shrapnel, 1891.

Present day ordnance: land and naval.

"Section built" guns.

Wire wound guns.

Silencers.

Telescopic sights.

Automatic guns (3-pounder the largest).



- e. Small arms.
  - Hand cannon, 1375.
  - Arquebus, 1525.
  - Musket, 1540.
  - Rifle, after 1631.
  - Pistol, about 1670.
  - Revolver, about 1835.
  - Repeating rifle, 1837.
  - Needle-gun, Prussia, 1840.
  - Minié ball, 1849.
  - Breech loader, ca. 1860.
  - Magazine rifle, 1860-65.
  - Automatic, adopted by the Danish army, 1904.
- f. Improvement in accuracy and effectiveness.
  - Shock weapons: sword, bayonet.
- 3. Defensive armor, discarded about 1500 as useless.
- 4. Military organization and methods.
  - a. Infantry, cavalry, artillery, and, later, baggage train, engineer corps, medical corps, etc.
  - b. Armies steadily increase in size, and standing armies become the rule. (Bloch, II, 137-173).
    - Mercenaries. Conscription.
    - Regulars, volunteers.
    - Compulsory universal service.
    - Reserve and militia.
  - c. Provisioning. Gradual change in the rules of war. (See Syllabus XXI.)
    - Forage, devastation, plunder: living off of the enemy.
    - Provisioning armies by the state; necessitates baggage train, and base of supplies.
    - Private property on land made immune (exceptions).
  - d. Prisoners, etc. War made more humane and confined to combatants. (See Syllabus XXI.)
- 5. Tactics and strategy.
  - The use of firearms, and, later, the abolition of forage, necessitates a base of supplies and constant communication of the army with the same; hence strategy and maneuvering become important, and armies are well drilled. Individual skill and prowess become unimportant.
- 6. Fortifications.
  - Serve to dominate strategic points rather than as places of refuge.



## NAVAL WARFARE

## A. Ancient period.

## 1. Vessels.

Galley or longboat: bireme, trireme, quinquireme.

## 2. Armor and protective devices.

Fake keels, awnings of hides, braces to withstand ramming, moveable walls and turrets, girdling cables.

## 3. Armament.

Javelins, arrows, spears, grappling poles and irons, stone hurlers, combustibles (Greek fire), rams.

## 4. Tactics.

Earlier: ships stationary while men, collected on decks, fought at a distance with spears and bows.

Later: ships try to ram each other and soldiers attempt to board the enemy's vessel.

## 5. Personnel.

Crew: 200 oarsmen (freemen, later slaves) to a trireme.

Fighting force: distinct from crew.

## B. Mediaeval period.

Decline of naval warfare. Vikings, Italian cities, Byzantines, Hanseatic League.

## C. Modern Period.

Revival and high development of sea-power.

Merchant ship and warship distinct after 1500.

The closed sea (*Mare Clausum*).

Spain and Portugal. The Netherlands. The Armada, 1588.

England versus Louis XIV and Napoleon. Trafalgar, 1805.

The open sea.

Germany, United States, Japan, Russia.

## 1. Early modern period.

## a. Vessels.

Wooden.

Sailing ships: ships of the line; frigates.

## b. Armor: practically none. Gunports.

## c. Armament.

Ships carried 60 guns by 1600. Number steadily increased; 140 about 1800.

## d. Tactics.

Gain wind of the adversary.

Break the enemy's fighting line. Injure rigging.

Boarding at close quarters. Capture vessel if possible.



## 2. Later modern period.

## a. Vessels.

Built of iron and steel.

Propelled by steam. (Turbine engines.)

Speed.

Steaming radius.

Coaling stations.

Docking facilities.

## b. Era of competition between :

Armor. Kinds and strength.

Ordnance. (Average 42 guns per ship.)

Range, power, durability.

The Dreadnoughts: all-large-gun vessels.

Pre-Dreadnought, Dreadnought, Super-Dreadnought. Fighting range is six miles or more.

## GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. Formerly war was waged between whole peoples; now it is a struggle between the combatants of the peoples.

2. War formerly meant personal antipathy between the combatants; now it is more nearly a conflict between interests.

3. Victory formerly meant subjection for the conquered; now the conquered often retains his independence.

4. Formerly war was waged with little or no preparation, or strategy; it has gradually been reduced to a science which requires experts in all departments.

5. Formerly individual prowess counted, and a skillful fighter stood some chance in battle; now the leaders of the army are expected to have the prowess, and the private ordinarily is expected to do nothing more than obey orders (which is contrary to the spirit of democracy); and under fire the keen and wide-awake soldier has little more chance to escape death than the sluggard (except perhaps in retreat).

6. Plundering and wanton destruction of property, which were formerly the rule, are now discouraged.

7. War has grown more humane.

8. War has grown very much more expensive than it was.

9. War was formerly decided upon by the rulers and they, if anybody, were the beneficiaries; their subjects who fought risked life and gained little except by plunder. Today the people as a whole have a voice in deciding upon war but get little out of fighting except the satisfaction of being victors. Others get the prizes. The realization of this and the enlargement of the power of the people will militate against war.





*General.*

Jähns: Kriegsgeschichte.

Bloch: Der Krieg. (Engl. ed. abridged: Future of War).

Dodge: Great Captains Series (appendices, and the chapters on the history of warfare). Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederick the Great, Napoleon.

Boutell (Lacombe): Arms and Armour.

Parmentier: Album Historique (illustrations).

Machiavel: The Art of War.

Jablonski: Histoire de l'art militaire.

von der Goltz: The Nation in Arms.

Maurice: War.

Grose: Military Antiquities.

Creasy: Fifteen Decisive Battles.

Harbottle: Dictionary of Battles.

Spencer: Descriptive Sociology.

Sumner: War, Yale Review, October, 1911.

(Consult also periodicals, professional journals, and encyclopedias under the proper headings.)

*Ancient.* (In addition to the references above.)

Phillipson: International Law and Custom of Ancient Greece and Rome, II, 166-348.

Whibley: Companion to Greek Studies, Ch. VI, Pt. 10.

Holmes: Caesar.

Meyrick: Antient Armour (illustrations).

*Mediaeval.*

Oman: Art of War in the Middle Ages.

Viollet-le-Duc: Annals of a Fortress.

Clark, G. T.: Mediaeval Military Architecture.

MacMillan's Mag.: 72, Soldier of the Sixteenth Century.

Lacroix: Military and Religious Life.

Gautier: Chivalry.

*Modern.*

Derrecagaix: Modern Warfare, 3 vols., 1888.

(Consult the bibliographies in the works mentioned above and the history of any given war.)

*Naval Warfare.*

Mahan: Influence of Sea Power on History.

Bloch: Der Krieg, III.

Gibbon: Decline and Fall (Bury) I, 450-1; 538-40.

Burchett: Complete Naval History.

Mahan: Interest of America in Sea Power.

Mahan: Lessons of the War with Spain.

Jane: Imperial Russian Navy.

Jane: All the World's Fighting Ships (Since 1898).

Mahan: Influence of Naval Warfare upon the French Revolution.

Stenzel: Seekriegsgeschichte.



## IV. THE CAUSES AND CONDITIONS PRODUCING WAR

(Krehbiel)

## A. Declarations of war.

1. Present the case of the belligerent as favorably as possible.
2. Emphasize the immediate occasion of the war (the pre-text).
3. Frequently dissemble the true cause of the war.
4. Are often belied by subsequent events.
5. Illustrations.

## B. The immediate cause or the occasion of the war (the pre-text).

1. Chance or accidental occasions.
2. Artificially prepared occasions.
3. War slogans and their rôle.

## C. The underlying causes of wars, the motives. (These proceed from human nature and sway individuals and groups.)

1. Pride.
2. Revenge.
3. Avarice.
4. Love of fighting and adventure.
5. Racial antipathy.
6. Causing a war for the purpose of diverting men from some action (good or bad) by appealing to their patriotism and loyalty. The "Terror" in France an extreme case. Illustrations abundant.
7. Religious conviction.
8. Economic expansion.
9. Desire to spread civilization (often a pretext).
10. Desire to get some matter settled.
11. Liberty (personal or political).
12. Economic want.
13. Humanitarianism.

## D. Conditions conducive to peace or war.

1. Prevalent conception that fighting is the *manly* way to settle a thing.
2. Expediency of fighting.
  - Might of a nation, and its chances of victory.
  - Financial situation.
  - Advantage to be gained from fighting.
  - Public opinion (counts more every day).
3. Justice of fighting. Other means of settlement.
  - The same grievance once causes a war, and another time is ignored or settled by peaceful means.
  - Illustrations.



"He asked me 'What were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another?' I answered they were innumerable, but I should only mention a few of the chief. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern; sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their masters in a war, in order to stifle or divert the clamor of the subjects against their evil administration. Difference in opinions has cost many millions of lives; for instance, whether flesh be bread, or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine; whether whistling be a vice or a virtue; whether it be better to kiss a post, or throw it into the fire; what is the best color for a coat, whether black, white, red, or gray; and whether it should be long or short, narrow or wide, dirty or clean;—with many more. Neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference of opinion, especially if it be in things indifferent.

"Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretends to any right; sometimes one prince quarrels with another, for fear the other should quarrel with him; sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong, and sometimes because he is too weak; sometimes our neighbors want the things which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight till they have ours or give us theirs. . . . Alliance by blood or marriage is a frequent cause of war between princes; and the nearer the kindred is, the greater their disposition to quarrel. Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud; and pride and hunger will ever be at variance. For these reasons the trade of a soldier is held the most honorable of all others, because a soldier is a Yahoo hired to kill in cold blood as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as possibly he can."

(Dean Swift: *Voyage to the Land of the Houyhnhnms.*)

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 Conrad: Autocracy and war. No. Am. 181, 33-55.  
 Hirst: Arbiter in Council.  
 Dymond: War, 9-12.



## V. WAR SCARES AND ARMAMENT SYNDICATES

*(Jordan)*

A. The chief business of all governments—borrowing or extorting money for past or future wars. America spends today 71 to 73 per cent. of her receipts. National expenditures in Europe for matters not connected with war, are, and always have been, negligible.

"I cannot help thinking of you as ye deserve, O ye governments. The only government that I recognize, and it matters not how few are at the head of it or how small is its army, is that which establishes justice in the land."—(Thoreau.)

B. Who wants war?

Not the people anywhere.

Not the rulers anywhere.

Not business anywhere.

Not the Unseen Empire of Finance.

Militarists sometimes (not always).

Journalists sometimes (not honest journalists).

"We (of Germany) are a commercial and agricultural nation and we want peace and are peaceful notwithstanding the utterances of some irresponsible half-pay generals and admirals who want promotion for their relations, and the unpardonable levity of representatives of the press, who write, against better knowledge and only for sensation's sake. . . . Truth and fairness in the press would make things much easier and allow nations to understand each other."—(Baron von Roeder, Berlin.)

C. War Scares and Scarers.

"In time of peace, prepare for war."

In time of peace, prepare for peace.

The war lobby of the world.

"Making work for unemployed men." Other working men must pay for all wasted labor.

The Junker element.

The military element, "bored almost to death, kept from quarreling only by the strictest discipline, officers and men, separated from family and with no hope of the future except from war."

"Just as nervous and just as persistent" when a thousand millions more are wasted as they are now.

Bid for soldier's vote.

Alliance with protected interests.

Jingoism: turning aside reforms.





"Look for the simplest motives in explanation of action or of conduct; somebody makes something by reason of the huge expenditures in preparation for war."

"Have you ever noticed that about the time that appropriations for military purposes are under consideration in Congress, in the House of Commons, in the Chamber of Deputies, or in the Reichstag, or just before such a time, hostilities are always on the point of breaking out in two or three parts of the world at once?"

"It might be worth while to make some measurement of the sincerity and disinterestedness of the lively type of patriotism which accompanies these military and naval debates the world over."

### War Scares.

#### 1. *England*:

Danger of German aggression—need of armament  $2\frac{1}{2}$  times that of any other nation, to protect commerce and colonies.

Revolt of India.

Incursion of Russia along Persian frontier.

Imminent seizure of Holland and Belgium by Germany.

#### 2. *Germany*:

Dominance of Great Britain.

Unprotected commerce and colonies.

Aggressions on Persia.

Panslavism.

Alsace-Lorraine.

North Africa.

Asia Minor.

#### 3. *France*:

Germany in Holland; Africa.

#### 4. *Austria*:

Panslavism.

"Italia Irredenta."

Balkan States.

#### 5. *Italy*:

"Italia Irredenta," Tripoli.

#### 6. *Russia*:

Japan, Germany, England, Sweden, Poland, Persia.

#### 7. *Australia*:

White Australia.

#### 8. *Persia*:

England, Russia, Turkey.



9. *United States:*

Designs of Japan.  
 Europe and the Monroe Doctrine.  
 Germany and Southern Brazil.  
 The Philippines.  
 Hawaii.  
 Panama Canal.

10. *Japan:*

Designs of United States.  
 Designs of Russia.

11. *China:*

"The watermelon to be divided."  
 Spheres of Influence of England, France, Germany,  
 Japan, Russia.  
 American Concessions.

## D. Origin of War Scares.

1. Irresponsible talk.
2. Yellow Journalism.
3. Armament Syndicates.

The *New York Evening Post* describes the greatest "of the unseen and pernicious forces with which economists have to contend." These are "the powerful companies which exist to produce armaments and which have been encouraged to increase their capital obligations within the last few years by the successive scares and naval programmes of the last decade."

The capitalization of the six leading English firms is thus given in the *London Morning Leader*:

	ISSUED SHARE CAPITAL	DEBENTURE CAPITAL
Vickers' Sons & Maxim.....	£5,200,000	£2,956,200
Cammell, Laird & Co. ....	2,372,895	1,728,511
Armstrong, Whitworth & Co. ..	4,210,000	2,500,000
Wm. Beardmore & Co. ....	2,000,000	1,716,621
John Brown & Co. ....	3,218,500	1,018,292
Thames Ironworks Co. ....	600,000	261,044
Total .....	£17,601,395	£10,180,468
	\$85,368,765	\$49,375,267

Total, over \$134,740,000.

This list is by no means complete so far as England is concerned. "The importance of these figures," says the correspondent of the *Post*, "is evident. The country has encouraged private concerns to expend these sums so that they may be productive of profits year by year for the benefit of their shareholders.



Any restriction in the building of armaments either by the home or foreign governments has disastrous results on the year's profits. It requires no stretch of the imagination to see that the enormous numbers of investors in every class of society scattered through the country exert a subtle influence in favor of the expansion of armaments. The numbers are not so much as the quality. According to the "*Investor's Review*," the social position of some of the leading owners of three of the principal firms is as follows:

	VICKERS' SONS & MAXIM	JOHN BROWN & Co.	ARMSTRONG, WHITWORTH & Co.
Duke .....	2	1	
Marquess .....	2		
Earl, baron, or wife, son, or daughter of .....	50	10	60
Baronet .....	15	2	15
Knight .....	5	5	20
M. P. ....	3	2	8
J. P. ....	7	9	3
K. C. ....			5
Military or naval officer ..	21	2	20
Naval architect or govern- ment contractor .....	2		
Financier .....	3		1
Journalist (including news- paper proprietors) .....	6	3	8

The plant of Vickers' Sons and Maxim is prepared to lay down and complete three Dreadnoughts in three years without going outside its own factories.

In referring to the standing army of 1,041,000 men now maintained by the British Empire, Mr. G. H. Perris says (*Hands Across the Sea*, p. 10): "This is the largest peace establishment in the world, with the exception of the Russian army, which is of about the same size. Those of Germany and France number only about 650,000 men. Of the million of our soldiery, 776,000 are Britishers, 665,000 being located at home, and the remainder exiled mainly in tropical or sub-tropical lands. To this 776,000, we must add 185,000 men of the Fleet and the Naval Reserve. And behind this force of 961,000 able-bodied and middle-aged Englishmen, there lie two bodies, also of adult men, most skilled and able-bodied, whose numbers can be only approximately determined: (1) Those engaged in the arsenals and dockyards, and the numerous armament trades, and (2) Pensioners, small and large, possibly 100,000 of them, since their cost on the Estimates is about 2,500,000 pounds a year.



"The probability is, then, that at least 1,500,000 adult able-bodied men—or one in six of the "occupied" adult males of the United Kingdom—share, to some extent, in the 65,000,000 pounds a year which we spend on the twin 'defense' services. Thus, even when we remember that many of these, like the 'Terriers' and Reservists, get a mere allowance, while a large part of the regular army is paid for by India, it will be seen that we have here the most widely ramified of all our vested interests, a fearful drag upon reproductive industry, and an influence which must often diverge from the straight line of democratic advance. The big prizes, of course, all go to a small class of financiers and industrial magnates, who, in order to keep the game going, exert a thoroughly pernicious influence on Parliament and middle-class opinion. The higher officer ranks of the army and navy are an aristocratic preserve, and are highly organized for the advancement of their professional interests. This alliance of money power and class power, whose shibboleth and trademark is 'Imperialism,' includes the most determinedly reactionary elements in British society."

"War," says the German Colonel Gädke, "is the father of other wars. The more we think of our own power and ability, the oftener we have tasted of the fruit of victorious war, the more are we surrounded by the evil spirit of Chauvinism and of Imperialism. War is the father of other wars."

E. Roar of indignation at closing of Woolwich. (Syndicates for War, 7f.)

1. Similar conditions elsewhere.

a. "King Krupp of Essen." Embassadors in every capital, "strong, silent men," covered with glory when they stir up trouble. Egging powers to purchase arms by showing orders of rivals.

b. In Japan. The foreign editor of the *Times* is reported to have said of one of them (a shipbuilding firm) that he found it difficult sometimes to say where this firm began and where the government ended.

c. Millions spent in "tips" and *douceurs*.

d. Trail of bribery everywhere. Servia, Russia, Argentina, Turkey.

Russia the paradise of the armament maker.

e. Sale of old weapons, to Albanians, Arabs, Abyssinians, Moors, Central Americans, Central Africans, Caucasians, Afghans, Chinese, Senegambians.

"Civilization in the Dark Continent has much to answer for, beginning with rum and ending with rifles."





## F. Typical utterances.

"If our navy should shrink to lesser proportions and should be permitted to fall below the level of Germany, France and Japan, these nations would bully our commerce and insult our Monroe Doctrine whenever they felt like it."  
—Republican Peace Committee, New York.

Germany says, "War is the only means of fulfilling national purpose. Preparation for war seems the first business of government."

"If, while nations remain, war is to be abolished, then unless the degeneration of people can be prevented, to say there shall be no more war means there shall be no more progress."

"Many thousand Japanese troops already established in the guise of settlers in the United States and in Mexico."

"Japan has bought secretly from Mexico a coaling station in Magdalena Bay."

"The Shadow of Conflict and of displacement greater than any which mankind has known since Attila and his Huns were slayed at Chalons is visibly impending over the world. Almost can the ear of imagination hear the gathering of the legions for the fiery trial of peoples, a sound vast as the trumpet of the Lord of Hosts."

"The waning fleet of Great Britain is tied to its own shores by German menace."

## G. The Moral.

"The moral is when next you read a war scare, reassure your native intelligence by making the sound "pooh-pooh." In the current idiom: It is all punk."

"The only national defense Great Britain needs is defense against her armament syndicates."—(G. H. Perris.)

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## VI. THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN.

*(Jordan)*

- A. Early History of Japan.
  - Hideyoshi and Korea (1592-1598).
  - Temples and palaces.
- B. Feudal System.
  - Shogun and the Mikado.
  - Portugese in Japan.
  - Dutch at Nagasaki.
- C. Modern Japan.
  - Commodore Perry at Kanagawa (1854).
  - The Treaty Ports.
  - Shimonoseki affair (1864).
  - General Grant at Nikko.
  - Consular jurisdiction (1899).
  - War with China (1894-5).
  - War with Russia (1904-5).
  - Protectorate over Korea (1904).
  - Absorption of Korea (1910).
- D. The "Japanese Question."
  - 1. Steamship agents bring rice-field laborers from Okayama, Hiroshima and Yamaguchi to Hawaii. These, the lowest class of Japanese (not criminal nor weak-minded) virtually slaves in Hawaii.
  - 2. Warning of W. W. Scott, of clash with European laborers due to low standards of living and lack of common traditions (1898). Refusal of Japanese Government to issue passports to this class to come to America. (1899). Annexation of Hawaii to United States (1898) gives freedom to Hawaiian laborers. Influx of laborers to California. Injury to reputation of Japan (being judged by its lowest and least educated class).
  - 3. Race prejudice, economic prejudice, exploitation.
  - 4. Efforts at exclusion of Japanese unskilled laborers.
  - 5. The demand for them in the fruit orchards and as house servants.
  - 6. Their preference for work in cities.
  - 7. Agreement with Japanese Government that no passports be issued to unskilled laborers to come to Hawaii or to the Pacific Coast, and that all Japanese with passports be received without question.



8. Efforts to make political capital by exclusion bills after desired results had been fully attained.
  9. Efforts of "Anti-Japanese" to change public opinion.
  10. Objections to "Oriental exclusion" projects.
  11. Economic reasons for exclusion not without cogency.
  12. Racial reasons for exclusion.  
Of doubtful validity.
  13. Social reasons for exclusion.  
Fecundity, disregard for contracts, lack of business honesty.  
Ambition to rise above situation, bad neighbors, non-assimilation, low standards of morality.
  14. Japanese reasons for exclusion.  
Ricefield "coolies" giving wrong impression of character and culture of Japanese people.
- E.* Japanese students in America.
- F.* School question in San Francisco.
- a.* Question at issue. Was an "Oriental School" (no Chinese being present) a violation of "most favored nation" clause in treaty? Probably, but not certainly. Matter originally without significance and without malice. Given importance by Japanese protest, by newspapers of both countries, and by misrepresentation and exaggeration.
  - b.* Proper course of action apparently an injunction suit.
  - c.* Message of President.
- G.* The Manchurian railway question.  
Suggested sale to China, to be directed by outside syndicate, unwelcome and doubtless impracticable.
- H.* The fur seal question.
1. The Pribilof herd reduced (1888 to 1900) from 1,000,000 breeding females to 200,000.
  2. Work of Canadian pelagic sealers.  
Further reduced to about 30,000, largely by Japanese pelagic sealers.
  3. Matter settled wisely and justly by treaty of 1910. Great Britain, Russia, Japan and the United States.
- I.* No question has ever disturbed the friendly relations of the governments of the two nations. Some matters have made local or temporary friction, but these all fully adjusted.
- American sympathy with Japan:
- In early days, work of Harris, Denison, Chamberlain, Mendenhall, Morse, Hearn, Terry, Swift and others.
- In war with China.
- In war with Russia.



The "Pro-Japanese" and "Anti-Japanese."  
Problems of the Japanese Government.  
War scares in America and Japan.  
Wicked imaginings for wicked purposes.  
Japanese love America.

Many of the ablest were educated in America.

America is Japan's best customer.

America is Japan's most constant friend.

The outside ambitions of Japan centre on Korea and  
South Manchuria.

She is nearest the greatest political problem of the world:  
the future of China.

She has no money to waste on war in any quarter.

*J.* Peace Societies in Japan.





## VII. ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF PAST WARS

*(Krehbiel)*

## A. Destruction of property.

1. Formerly an essential part of war: war must support war.

- a. Middle ages. Destruction of enemy's property (including his serfs and cattle) was the rule.

- b. Period of mercenary armies, XIV-XVII centuries.

War a trade or profession (not without honor).

Soldiers were paid, and expected to live on their pay; the only help in this direction was the establishing of markets in the neighborhood of the army.

Soldiers made their real gain from plunder and booty.

Foraging.

Wallenstein.

2. Provisioning armies.

Made easier by the fact that the use of artillery necessitated a base of supplies.

Relieving the individual private of the need of foraging for himself made it possible to march farther and faster.

Gustavus Adolphus introduced the system.

He provisioned his army at the expense of the occupied country, by means of well organized foraging divisions, which were expected to take no more than was necessary.

Large armies made possible. Kept in time of peace.

Supplying the army became an important business, and in France a monopoly ("compagnie des vivres," Paris-du-Verney); which practiced so much fraud and graft that the soldiers were compelled to pilfer in order to get an adequate income.

Systematic provisioning the secret of Frederick the Great's rapid campaigns.

Provisioning of armies tended to diminish wanton destruction on the part of the private; however, depredation still remained a part of legitimate warfare. Thirty Years' War; Louis XIV.



3. Requisition and contribution. Initiated with the French Revolution. (Instead of forcefully seizing whatever was wanted, a locality was requested and forced to furnish a given amount of provisions of a stated kind; other property being exempt from seizure.)

A requisition might demand supplies or money.

All property in France put under requisition by decrees of August 27, and September 7, 1793. (Bloch IV, 379.)

Napoleon supported his armies abroad by requisitions.

The destruction of property still remained legitimate.

Napoleon and the art treasures of his victims.

Sherman's March to the Sea.

Conventions for land warfare now prohibit wanton destruction of private property.

Violated: Boxer rebellion.

On the sea private property remains subject to capture by the enemy. (It should be made immune.)

- B. Disturbance of economic conditions. War is pathological, as it produces an abnormal economic condition.

1. Interruption of business at many points (not only between foes).

2. Withdrawal of large numbers of men from their regular pursuits in factories, offices, and on farms; draft animals needed for war purposes.

3. Rise in wages and prices. (Wages do not rise in concert with prices. Dewey: Financial History of U. S. 294.)

4. Change in demand: war goods wanted.

5. Rise in insurance rates (both for goods on land and sea).

- C. Financial conditions.

War means enormous expense to a government.

Credit of the government immediately sinks; its paper (bonds and paper money) fall in value.

Specie (especially gold) is forced out of circulation; hoarded.

Runs on banks are to be feared.

Banks (perchance the government) may be compelled to suspend specie payment.

Loans recalled; interest high; bankruptcy to be feared.

Financing the war. (Based on the Civil War.)

The government issues bonds. These must be of a character to induce moneyed interests to buy.

Must bear high rate of interest (preferably payable in gold).

Must be put on sale at a discount.



Must offer suitable means of conversion or redemption.

(The patriotism and courage of purchasers of such bonds.)

Issuing bonds means indebtedness.

Customs and excise duties. War tariffs.

Duties on imports payable in coin (often gold).  
Why?

Taxes increased. But not too much; as people must not feel the burden of war too directly.

Fiat money. Non-interest bearing paper. Greenbacks, assignats in France. Debt in another form.

Redeemable:

Not too soon, or the government cannot meet its obligations.

Not too late, or the paper will depreciate.

Legal tender.

If not made a legal tender, it will fail of its purpose.

If made a legal tender and received for customs and taxes, the government will get no coin.

Hence legal tender except for certain payments to the government; which causes depreciation.

For depreciation in Civil War: Dewey, 293.

#### D. Recovery from the war.

Resumption of normal economic life. Danger of booms or inflation.

War debt to be repaid. (Do financial interests want the governments to get out of debt?)

The rehabilitation of the war equipment.

Results of the acquisition or loss of territory. (Lecture XV.)

Results of the payment of indemnities on conqueror and conquered. France and Germany.

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(For additional references see Syllabi VIII and IX.)



## VIII. THE WORLD'S WAR EQUIPMENT AND EXPENDITURE.

*(Krehbiel)*

## A. In men.

## 1. Land Forces, classified. (Sundbärg)

a. Officers .....	227,537
b. Infantry .....	2,651,625
c. Cavalry .....	491,967
d. Artillery .....	601,350

Total classified .....	3,972,479
e. Colonial (Great Br., Portugal, Netherl.) .....	281,026
f. Miscellaneous .....	1,345,698

Total unclassified .....	1,626,724
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Grand total, peace standing	5,599,203
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2. In the navies. (Sundbärg) 46 nations. ....	422,737
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(World Almanac, 1911, 551, gives the figure at 477,279 men for 22 navies.)

Guardians of the world's peace .....	6,021,940
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3. War footing. (World Almanac, 1911, 551).	19,143,500
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B. In draft animals, etc. Horses (Sundbärg) .....	741,656
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## C. In military and naval stations.

Fortifications: their distribution illustrated.

Barracks, drill-grounds, arsenals, proving grounds, gun and ammunition factories and depots.

National cemeteries.

Navy yards, ship yards, docks, coaling stations, etc.

For details about the U. S., Heitman: Historical Register, II.

## D. Vessels. All types (Sundbärg) 2848.

Number of dreadnoughts to be ready at end of 1911, 35; 1912, 67; 1913, 85. (Navy League Annual, 1910).

## E. Air craft.

## 1. Types.

a. Lighter-than-air: balloons and dirigibles.

Rigid: Zeppelin.

Semi-rigid: Gross (German); La Reublique (French).

Non-rigid: Perseval (German); Ville de Paris (French).

b. Heavier-than-air: aeroplanes (various makes).





2. Performances.
3. Military uses: dropping explosives forbidden. (Hague.)
4. Number of air craft used by armies not ascertainable.

F. Miscellaneous war materials.

Uniforms, utensils, repairs, stores, hospital equipment, engineering outfits, telegraphic appliances, etc.

Large guns on land, 20,904; on ships, 21,207 (Sundbärg).

G. Cost of maintaining this equipment.

World's military budget (Statesman's Year

Book, 1911, and Bull. Bureau Am.

Rep., 31, 32)..... \$1,591,571,441

World's naval budget (1908) (Sundbärg).. 575,364,000

Total annual budget . (ca. 1908).... \$2,166,935,441

Cost per man. (Mulhall: "Army.")

Great Britain. Annual cost per man ...\$ 350

France " " 240

Germany (1897) " " 205

Austria-Hungary " " 205

Italy " " 225

Portugal " " 160

United States " " 1581

THE ANNUAL ARMAMENT BUDGETS OF TEN NATIONS

COUNTRY	FISCAL YEAR	EXPENDED FOR ARMY	EXPENDED FOR NAVY	TOTAL MILITARY CHARGE
Austria-Hungary .	1909	\$ 69,578,000	\$ 12,687,000	\$ 82,265,000
France .....	1910	164,569,000	68,299,000	232,868,000
Germany .....	1910-11	177,462,000	39,513,000	216,975,000
Great Britain.....	1909-10	137,175,000	175,715,000	312,890,000
Italy .....	1909-10	61,745,000	33,927,000	95,672,000
Japan .....	1909-10	36,146,000	17,662,000	53,808,000
Russia .....	1910	240,358,000	14,624,000	284,982,000
Spain .....	1910	32,814,000	6,271,000	39,085,000
Turkey* .....	1909	49,667,000	5,530,000	55,197,000
United States† ...	1909-10	158,173,000	123,974,000	282,147,000

Totals..... \$1,127,687,000 \$528,202,000 \$1,655,889,000

Total annual military expenditures of world approximate \$2,250,000,000.

\* Figures obtained from Whitaker's Almanack, 1910, and Almanac de Gotha, 1910.

† Figures obtained from U. S. Treasury Report, 1910.

Figures for the remaining countries obtained from Statesman's Year Book, 1910.



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## IX. THE PUBLIC DEBT OF NATIONS.

*(Jordan)*

Small debts of kings.

Borrowed money ; wasted money.

Paid by new loans ; by scaling, by confiscation, by fiat money,  
by extortion, by plunder.

"L'état, c'est moi !" All the people merely squatters on the  
royal property.

"Après nous le déluge !"

Small war debts of Eighteenth Century.

Making war pay its way.

Cheap equipment.

Cheap guns and scanty supplies.

Making a desert and calling it peace.

Thirty Years War.

Rise of war debts in Nineteenth Century: A device of the Nine-  
teenth Century.

Constitutional government makes borrowing possible.

Began with Pitt in England, just before 1800.

"The last check upon war given up."

"O, how I leave my country !" (Pitt's last words.)

Credit prevents plunder. Banks filled with paper, not coin.

Increase in size of armies—due to great mortality.

Cost of equipment—due to scientific invention.

Change from the wooden fleet of 1812 to Dreadnoughts of  
1910, costing upwards of \$12,000,000. Succeeded  
perhaps by swift hornets, sending dreadnoughts and  
super-dreadnoughts to the junk heap.

War necessarily prepared for long beforehand.

Germany ; Japan ; France ; United States ; Canada.

War preparations bankrupt the nations. How those thrive who  
have part in supplying means of war ; the Unseen Empire  
and the Armament Syndicates.

Debt of Europe (mostly war debt) now \$26,000,000,000.

Rise of the Unseen Empire.

Meyer Amschel, pawnbroker. "Der rothe Schild," Frank-  
fort-on-the-Main.

The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

The Hessians (12,000 soldiers sold to the British).

"Uncle" to the King of Denmark.

Nathan Rothschild and Waterloo.

Nathan Rothschild and the Bank of England.



Alphonse de Rothschild and the indemnity of France.

Wealth of Rothschilds estimated at \$2,000,000,000.

Bleichröder, "The little man who had counted gold ever since the Christian Era."

Fould, supporter of Napoleon III.

Perreire, Austria and southeastern Europe. (\$700,000,000.)

Cassel, the Nile; "uncle" of kings.

Sassoon, Asia Minor.

Stern.

Goldschmid, Portugal.

Günsberg, Russia; "uncle" of the Czar.

Montefiore, Australia.

Mendelssohn

Ephrussi.

Bischoffsheim.

Warschafski.

Camondo, Turkey; "uncle" of the Sultan.

Ralli, "Lord of the Levant."

Beit.

Wertheimer.

Barnato.

Friedländer.

Africa, \$1,000,000,000.

The Unseen Empire or "Das Consortium" of Bankers, who control Europe.

To control a railroad or a nation is not to own it, but to "absorb" or to "adjust" its debt.

Countries not controlled:

Uncivilized states, not yet ready to borrow money.

Small states of Europe.

United States.

Canada.

Wealth of Astors: estimated at \$300,000,000.

Rockefeller's: estimated at \$400,000,000.

English houses have about \$16,000,000,000 invested abroad.

\$2,400,000,000 in America; \$7,000,000,000 in British colonies; \$550,000,000 in Japan; \$2,000,000,000 in Australia. (Cf. Syllabus XXIX.)

Theory that the nation belongs to the present generation with no thought of the future.

Evils of deferred payment.

Evils of indirect taxation.





Evils of making war pay its way.

National debt the basis of international credit.

The Unseen Empire, the guarantee of the peace and financial stability of Europe.

When all the money is in the hands of professional financiers finance will be stable.

Devices for increasing national wealth by diverting money from the poor who make poor use of it to the strong who can make money grow.

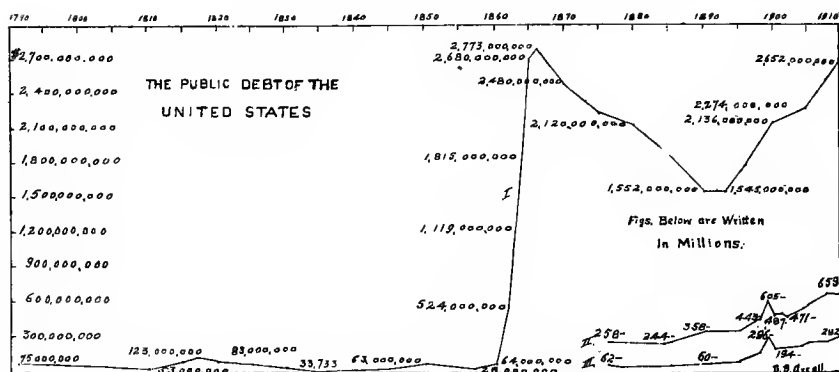
The kings become puppets or go into banishment. The masters of Europe take their place.

Meanwhile what of Democracy?

"For after all this is the people's country."

## THE PUBLIC DEBT OF THE UNITED STATES.

(Prepared by C. R. Numan, '12)



### I. The public debt of the United States.

[Source—1791-1855, North American Review, 1910, 720 (Austin).

1855-1910, Lator's Encyclopedia, p. 726.]

### II. Total annual expenditure of the United States.

[Source—Statesman's Year Book.]

### III. Total annual cost of military and naval establishments (excluding pensions).

[Source—Statesman's Year Book.]

(The figures for any given year are for the fiscal year ending June 30).

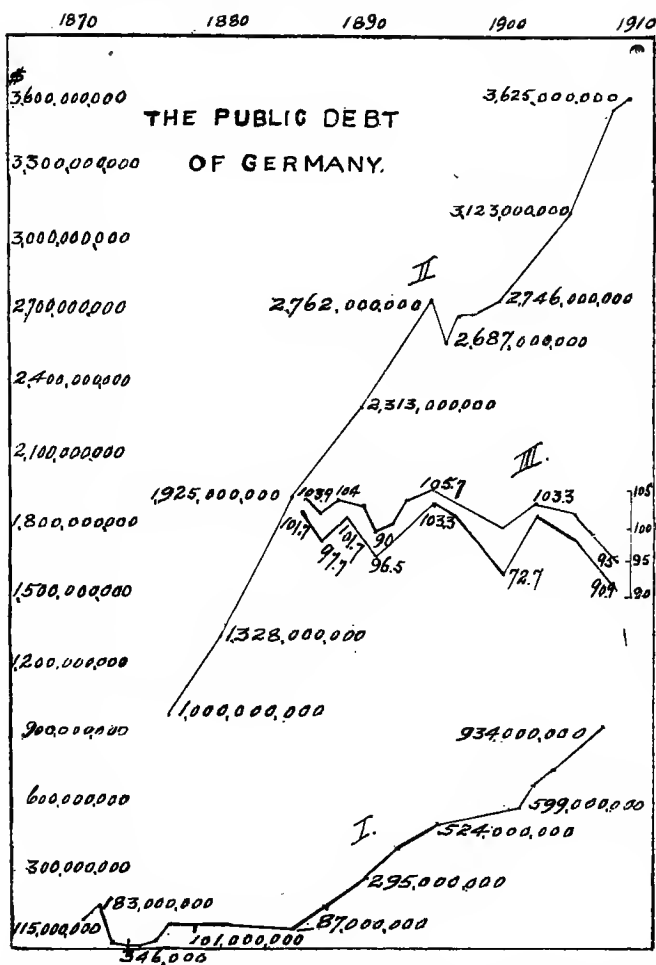


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# THE PUBLIC DEBT OF GERMANY.

(Prepared by L. L. Hill, '11)



(The scale of this plate is twice that of the other plates.)

I. The Imperial debt.

[Source—British Statistical Abstract, 1908, 319.]

II. Debt of the German States.

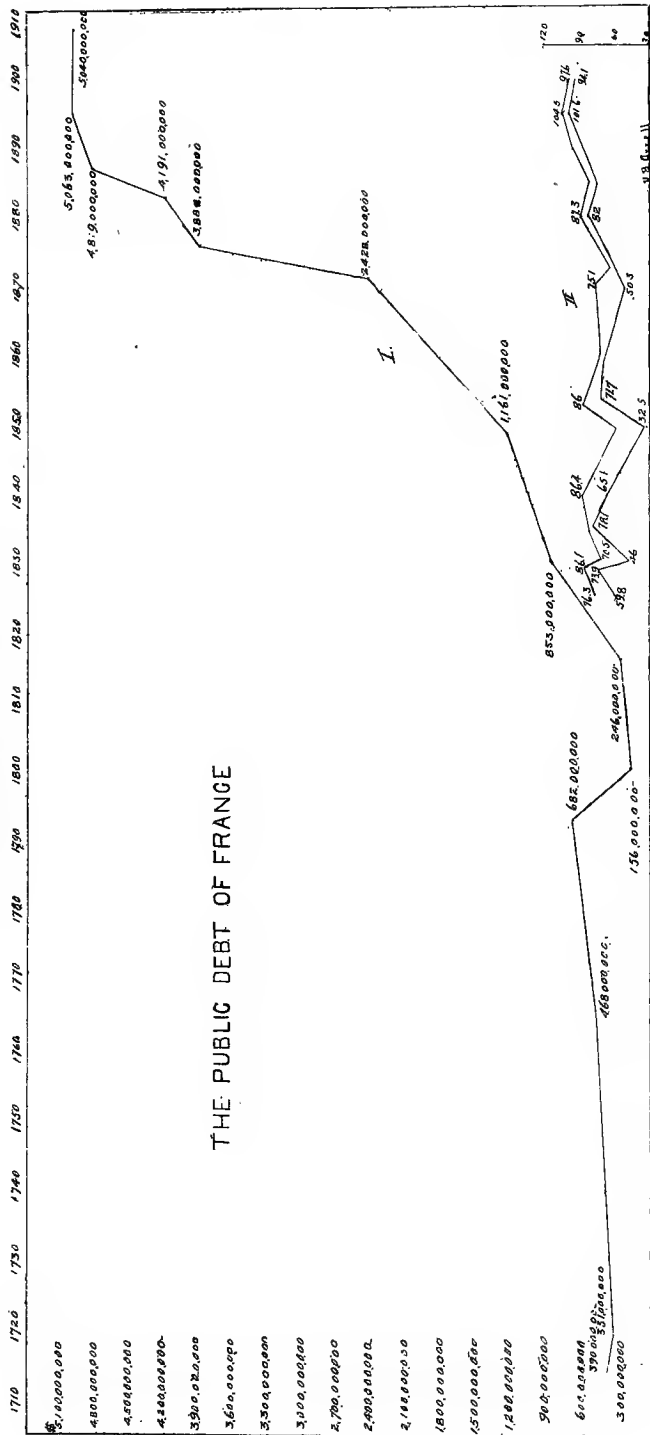
[Source—Pfitzner: Entwicklung der kommunalen Schulden in Deutschland, p. 36.]

III. Fluctuation of German bonds.

[Source—Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris, Vol. 50, p. 362.]

# THE PUBLIC DEBT OF FRANCE.

(Prepared by L. L. Hill, '11)

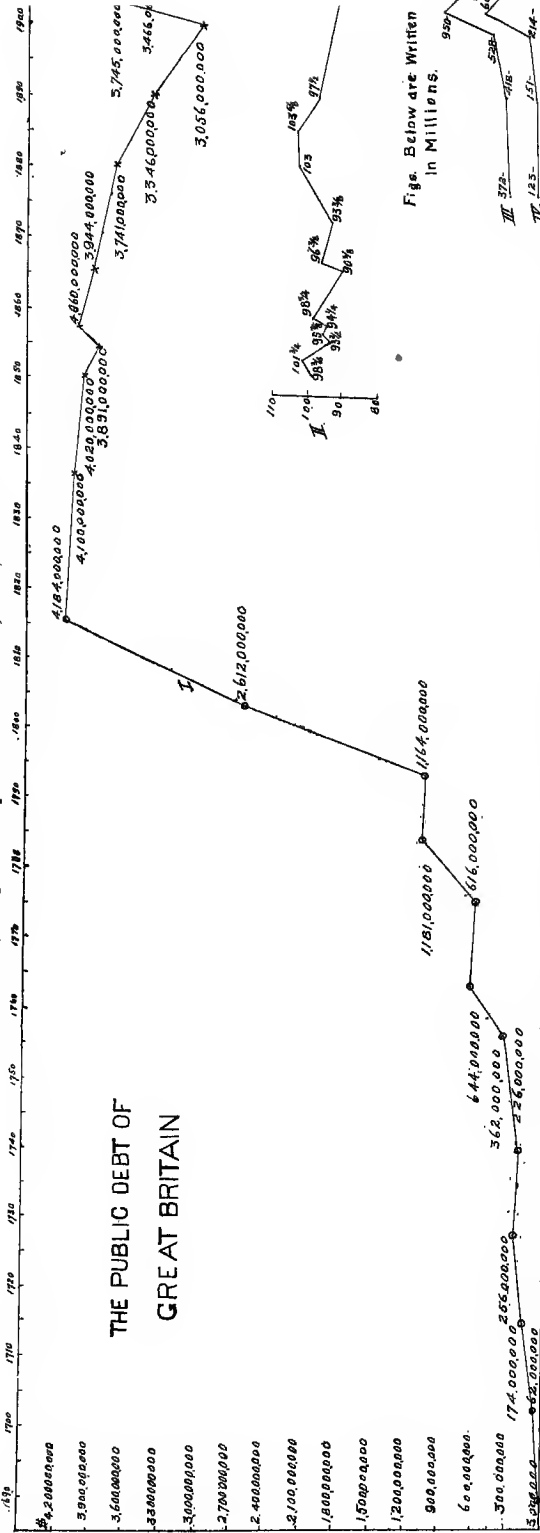


I. The public debt of France. [Source—British Statistical Abstract, 1908, 323.]

II. Fluctuation of French bonds (showing both high and low prices). [Source—Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris, Vol. 50, p. 369.]

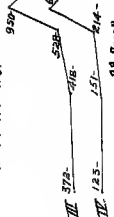
# THE PUBLIC DEBT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

(Prepared by C. R. Nunan, '12.)



## THE PUBLIC DEBT OF GREAT BRITAIN

Figs. Below are Written in Millions.



- I. The public debt of Great Britain. [o. Statesman's Year Book, 1895. x. British Sessional Papers, 1909, Vol. L. Cd. 4657.]
- II. Fluctuation of British consols. [Source—Journal de la Société de Statistique de Paris (1909), Vol. 50, p. 365.]
- III. Total annual expenditure. [Source—Statesman's Year Book.]
- IV. Total annual expenditure for defense. [Source—Statesman's Year Book.]

(The figures for any given year are for the fiscal year ending March 31.)

## X. WAR'S TOLL IN DEAD AND WOUNDED IN THE PAST.

(*Krehbiel*)

(This lecture, which is statistical in character, will be based chiefly upon the following references. A mimeographed syllabus will be issued for this lecture.)

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" " " II, p. 58 (Deaths, 1801-1888).  
" " " II, p. 76 (Marriages, 1801-1888).  
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" " " p. 486 (Japan, 1887-1905).  
" " " p. 483 (Italy, 1872-1904).  
" " " p. 412-17 (Hungary, 1876-1905).



## XI. BIOLOGY OF WAR.

(Jordan)

*Heredity*, the law of continuity among organisms. Like the seed is the harvest.

*Law of Variation*, almost alike but never quite.

*Law of Selection*, preservation of the adaptable; survival of the fittest.

*Law of Isolation*, survival of the existing.

All these laws apply to man as to the lower animals.

Selection lays hold of variation. Heredity reproduces what is left. Isolation confirms hereditary traits.

Selection as the magician's wand.

Reversed selection.

"La guerre a produit à tout temps une sélection à rebours."

Rome. *vir*, *virilis*.

Effect of domination.

"Vir" gave place to "Homo."

Rise of the Emperor. Emperors as barometers. Emperor exponent of the mob. "The little finger of Constantine was stronger than the loins of Augustus."

Marius destroyed the aristocrats. Sulla the democrats. "Only cowards remained and from their brood came forward the new generations" (Seeck). "The Roman empire perished for want of men" (Seeley). "The human harvest was bad." Militarism knows no country. "The brigands' and barbarians' contempt for honest industry." "Wo von 100,000 Starken 80,000 zum Opfer fallen, da werden es von 100,000 Schwachen sicher 90,000 oder gar 95,000 sein" (Seeck, I, 303).

"A physical, not a moral decay."

Decline selective, not collective.

Novara, Magenta, Solferino, Sedan, Moscow, Waterloo. Of the 600,000 "who proudly crossed the Niemen for the conquest of Russia, only 20,000 half-naked, famished, frost-bitten, unarmed spectres staggered across the bridge of Korno in the middle of December." (Cambridge Modern History, IX, 505, places the loss of the French army at 500,000; and estimates that 100,000 men was all that was left of the Grand Army.) 3,070,000 of the "elite of Europe" slain by Napoleon.

Disappearance of physical strength, alertness, dash, recklessness, patriotism, qualities chosen in the soldier.



Effect of Emigration. Oberammergau, Devon, Winchelsea, Rye. Germany: The Thirty Years war, 1618-1648.

Population reduced from 22,000,000 to 8,000,000. (16,000,000 to 6,000,000. Only one-third survived, and in some districts as few as one-tenth.—Cambridge Mod. Hist. IV, 418.)

Effects of the war concealed by industrialism and paternalism.

Spain.

"This is Castile; She makes men and wastes them." "This sublime and terrible phrase sums up the whole of Spanish history."

Switzerland.

The Lion at Lucerne. "Biederkeit and Tapferheit: the valor which is worth and truth."

"Sons of the men who knelt at Sempach, but not to thee, O Burgundy."

Japan. Venezuela. Paraguay. Samarcand. Korea. China. England.

The "Widow in Sleepy Chester."

Memorial tablets.

"Its only my dead that count."

Disappearance of the English squire and of John Bull.

Country squires exchanged for memorial tablets.

"O Cromwell's England, must thou yield  
For every inch of ground a son?"

"Childless and with thorn-crowned head up the steep road  
must England go."

The United States.

The Civil War cost the North 359,528 men. The National cemeteries, about 1600 acres. North Carolina. 152,000 volunteers from Massachusetts. (Heitman, II, 285.)  
Where are Boston's forty orators?

"The remnant just eleven,

Once twinkled a thousand bayonets

And the swords were thirty-seven."

The Law of Quetelet: the same number of each type in each generation. True only when parentage is the same.

"War does not of choice destroy bad men but good men ever."—  
(Sophocles.)

"Ja der Krieg verschlingt die Besten."—(Schiller.)

"À la guerre, ce sont toujours les mêmes qui se font tuer."—  
(French Proverb.)

"There is a deeper green of the sod where we left the bravest of us."—(Captain Brownell.)



"O band in the pine wood, cease,  
Cease with your splendid call,  
The living are brave and noble  
But the dead are bravest of all."—(John Esten Cooke.)

"Cut off from the land that bore us  
Betrayed by the land we find  
The brightest are gone before us  
And the dullest are left behind."  
—(Bartholomew Dowling.)

"Proudly they walk but each Cameron knows  
He may tread on the heather no more."  
—(May Campbell.)

"Wars are not paid for in war time;  
the bill comes later."—(Franklin.)

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## XII. SOCIAL AND MORAL EFFECTS OF WAR.

*(Jordan)*

"Inter arma leges silent."

"Ein furchtbar heulend Schreckniss ist der Krieg."—(Schiller.)

"Disguise fair nature with hard favored rage."

"You'd never have known him then with the flame of fight in his eyes."

"Fear a forgotten form,  
Death a dream of the eyes,  
We were atoms in God's great storm  
That swept through the angry skies."

"Ended the mighty noise,  
Thunder of forts and ships.  
Down we went to the hold,  
Oh, our dear dying boys!  
How we pressed their poor brave lips,  
Ah, so pallid and cold!  
And held their hands to the last,  
Those that had hands to hold.

"Be still, O woman heart!  
So strong an hour ago;  
If the idle tears must start,  
'Tis not in vain they flow.

Lie thus, for a myriad lives  
And treasure-millions untold,  
Labor of poor men's lives,  
Hunger of weans and wives,  
Such is war-wasted gold."—(Brownell.)

"Grim is the sea and cruel,  
Fierce are the winds and fell;  
But the strife of man is the fuel  
That feeds the fires of Hell!"—(Gray.)

The restraints of manhood unloosed.

Military versus civilian ideals.

a. Robbery, arson, brutality, blasphemy, rape, murder.

b. Courage, magnanimity, heroism, patriotism.

"Chair pour le canon." "A boy will stop a bullet as well as a man." "A soldier like me does not care a tinker's damn for the lives of a million men."—(Napoleon.)



The army as an instrument of plunder.

"We brought back a thousand cattle and the head of him that owned them."

Outrages of the allied armies in China. Plunder of astronomical observatory. Trial of Kunert at Halle.

The army as a political machine.

Militarism. Conscription.

Petty abuses of power; subjection of soldiers; idleness; barrack vulgarity; vice; record of barrack life.

Infectious diseases. "The Queen's Daughters." Efforts of the medical staff for sanitation. 22 instead of 54% in France.

The army as a means of defense.

Police duties of the army.

Alleged degeneracy of peace.

"Without war the world would degenerate and disappear in a morass of materialism."—(Moltke.)

War, "the red rain which fertilizes and purifies humanity."

Alleged unchangeability of human nature and its pugnacity.

Alleged survival of warlike nations.

Alleged constancy of physical force as the dominant factor.

Human nature has changed its manifestations through co-operation, civilization, religion.

Warlike nations never have survived.

Co-operation is the dominant force.

False ideals of patriotism.

Dreyfus case. Boer war. Spanish war. "Remember the Maine."

"Patriotism is killing Spaniards."

"Patriotism the last refuge of a scoundrel."—(Samuel Johnson.)

Patriotism: love of country and willingness to help in any way to her real advantage.

Moral damage of war.—(Walter Walsh.)

To the Nation.

Child.

Soldier—depends on circumstances. (Walsh, p. 156, 160.)

Politician—"Hot fits" or long preparation.

Journalist.

Preacher—"War, God's assizes." Ordeal of nations.

Missionary.

Trader.

Citizen—extension of graft; loose views of life.

Patriot.

Reformer.



“Let your reforms for a moment go.  
Look to your butts and take good aims.  
Better a rotten borough or so,  
Than a rotten fleet and a city in flames.”—(Tennyson.)

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## XIII. THE BRIEF FOR WAR.

*(Krechbiel)*

- A. Evils inherent in the ideal of universal peace.
1. Disarmament would disorganize all economic conditions.
    - a. Vast numbers of workers (soldiers and makers of war materials) would be thrown out of employment.
    - b. Inventive genius would be deprived of its readiest market.
  2. The enfeebling or disappearance of patriotism.
 

Anti-patriotism. Hervéism.
  3. The extinction of courage, producing an effeminate race.
  4. The supreme arbitral court would fail to give justice in many cases: graft and influence.
  5. Nations would suffer injustice without means of redress: "the peace of unrighteousness."
- B. War is inevitable.
1. History is one series of wars.
 

3357 years: from 1496 B. C. to 1861 A. D.  
 3130 years of war in that time.  
 227 years of peace.  
 Thirteen years of war to one of peace.  
 (Bloch: Future of War, lxv.)
  2. Human nature is unchangeable.
    - a. Men consider fighting as the honorable and manly way of settling their differences. (Ruskin: Crown of Wild Olive, "War.")
    - b. Human nature remains impulsive.
    - c. Even if men are becoming more deliberate, they will always have convictions, for which they will fight.
  3. Universal peace presupposes the same standard of civilization for all nations; and homogeneity within the nations. Even now many pacifists oppose only international war between civilized states. (See Lecture XVI.)
- C. War and militarism are beneficial on the whole.
1. Militarism furnishes an opportunity for—
    - a. Education of the private.
    - b. Development of national unity and patriotism.
    - c. National physical training.





d. Moral training

For the nation: teaches the nation how to put the welfare of the nation ahead of private ease.

For the soldier: he is under discipline at the time he most needs it. (Failure to make use of this opportunity is an abuse of the system and should be corrected. Immorality is not limited to barracks.)

2. Armaments are a national insurance of business against war. Granting that the rate of insurance is high, the protection to business etc. justifies the cost. The armed peace.
3. War is a divine ordeal.  
 "War conforms to the order of things established by God."—(Moltke, Sève: Cours . . . 145.)  
 Strongest nation does not always prevail: American Revolution.
4. War is justifiable in many cases.
  - a. When it resists aggression; armament is preparation for this.
  - b. When it protects citizens and commerce.
  - c. When it promotes justice: Spanish-American war.
  - d. When it is the lesser of two evils.
  - e. When it is the last resource and solves problems that cannot be solved otherwise. Men want, and must have, questions settled one way or the other at times.
5. War is the means of human progress.
  - a. War is the medium through which the law of evolution works upon peoples.  
 "If nations ceased, the one to take advantage of the other's weakness, the processes of biological law and therefore of evolution would come to an end."—(Wyatt, Nineteenth Century, 45, 216 f.)  
 "War has been the method of accomplishing the social evolution of mankind."—(Wyatt, Ib.)  
 "May God deliver us from the inertia of European peoples and make us a present of a good war, fresh and joyous, which shall traverse Europe with fury, pass her peoples through the sieve and rid us of that scrofulous chaff which fills every place and makes it too narrow for others, so that we can again live a decent human life where a pestilential air now suffocates us."—(Heinrich Leo, 1853.—Sève: Cours . . . 170.)



The harm to a race through loss of life in war is negligible.

Harm of this kind can come only when soldiers are selected for their physical and mental capacity; which has not always been the case: volunteers or mercenaries usual except among the early Romans, and recently since the adoption of universal compulsory service.

Percentage of killed and wounded is very small on the average:

Killed 2% ; wounded 11% ; 4—14% die of disease.—(La Combe, 65.)

The wounded may still make good fathers.

The mothers are as fit as ever.

Economic processes also cost lives, but must none the less continue.

- b.* It unifies peoples: Germany, Italy, Europe generally after Napoleon.
- c.* It arouses all the latent energies and powers of a people in a way that no economic or other struggle could. Golden ages in literature.
- d.* It is the final, and frequently the only means by which new ideals can secure their acceptance: Reformation; American independence; abolition of slavery.

#### REFERENCES :

(See Lecture XIV, page 98.)



## XIV. THE BRIEF FOR PEACE.

*(Jordan)*

REBUTTAL OF THE ARGUMENTS ADVANCED IN LECTURE XIII.  
 (Follows the outline of the previous lecture.)

## WAR IN HISTORY AND LITERATURE.

War inextricably woven into history of civilization.

Records of the past concerned chiefly

With elevation and abasement of kings.

March of armies, noise of battle.

Literature based chiefly on war.

Homer, Virgil.

Christian epics.

Song of Roland.

Holy Grail.

Paradise Lost.

Andalusia.

Ballads.

Venice.

Wars of the Roses.

Thirty Years' War.

Gustavus Adolphus.

William the Silent.

Lyrics and hymns.

The Two Voices.

The Christian Soldier.

Painting, Sculpture.

"Through the whole web of human record runs the blood-red thread of war."

Great literature follows great war.

"The cave-dweller who sketched with a flint on a piece of bone in such a masterly manner, that hairy arctic elephant, did it when safely entrenched in his cave after a successful hunt, in a leisure moment, and on a full stomach."

Art flourishes in peace after successful war.

Golden age of Greek art after Marathon.

Salamis and Thermopylae.

Augustan age after Caesar's campaigns.

Elizabethan age after dispersal of the Invincible Armada.

Spanish art after fall of Moor.

Netherlands after rise of Dutch Republic.

German art and science after Sedan.

Does idealism rise from blood of war, from exaltation, confidence, boastfulness?



Art, the translation of deep experience into visible terms. Cologne and Parthenon. Abundant life makes life more abundant.

Uplift follows successful war.

What of defeat? What if none left to be uplifted? What of loss and waste, and horror and sorrow?

Civilization a march of victors, but none victor for long.

"No victory possible save as resultant of totality of virtues; no defeat for which some vice or weakness was not responsible."

Is this true?

Are men weak, flabby, selfish, engrossed in gain, without war?

Is war an agency set on foot for hope of gain?

Do those fight who win? Do those fight who plan the game?

"Part of human nature." What evil is not? Struggles of brains and science against struggles of sinew and dynamite.

Why does war exist?

1. Selfishness: coveting of others' possessions.

"Modern peace only a near relation of war, of a different sex, but of the same blood."

"So love as if you were one day to hate."

2. Restlessness.

The military vs. the social whirl. The prize-fight and the thirst for thrills.

Fondness for combat. Combat and killing not necessarily the same.

3. Poetry of war.

Flags and bugles. Red coats and drums.

### THE PIPES O' GORDON'S MEN.

*By J. Scott Glasgow*

Home comes a lad with the bonnie hair,  
And the kilted plaid that the hill-clans wear;

And you hear the Mother say,

"Whear ha' ye bin, my laddie, whear ha' ye bin th' day?"

"Oh! I ha' bin wi' Gordon's men;

Dinna ye hear the bag-pipes play?

And I followed the soldiers across the green,

And doon th' road ta Aberdeen.

And when I'm a man, my Mother,

And th' grenadiers parade,

I'll be marchin' there; wi' my Father's pipes,

And I'll wear th' red cockade."





Beneath the Soudan's sky ye ken the smoke,  
As the clans reply when the tribesmen spoke.

Then the charge roars by!

The death-sweat clings to the kilted form that the stretcher brings,  
And the iron-nerved surgeons say,  
"Whear ha' ye bin, my Laddie, whear ha' ye bin th' day?"  
"Oh, I ha' bin wi' Gordon's men;  
Dinna ye hear th' bag-pipes play?  
And I piped the clans from the river-barge  
Across the sands—and through the charge.  
And I—skirled the—pibroch—keen—and high,  
But th' pipes—bin broke—and—my—lips—bin—dry."

### WAR

*By Richard Le Gallienne*

War

I abhor!

And yet how sweet

The sound along the marching street

Of drum and fife, and I forget

Broken old mothers, and the whole

Dark butchering without a soul.

Without a soul—save this bright treat

Of heady music, sweet as hell;

And even my peace-abiding feet

Go marching with the marching feet,

For yonder goes the fife,

And what care I for human life!

The tears fill my astonished eyes,

And my full heart is like to break,

And yet 'tis all embannered lies,

A dream those drummers make.

Oh, it is wickedness to clothe

Yon hideous, grinning thing that stalks

Hidden in music, like a queen

That in a garden of glory walks,

Till good men love the things they loathe;

Art, thou hast many infamies,

But not an infamy like this,

Oh, snap the fife, and still the drum,

And show the monster as she is!

"The flower of life is red."

"Human kind without emotionality, coursing red blood, and without the out-reaching of personality was inconceivable."



The universe begotten of clashing atoms; race against race; species against species; individual against individual.

But all this not the war of the militarist, wholesale killing, not individual struggle. "Unreasoning anger" set in operation by unbridled greed. There are struggles, natural and desirable. The wholesale murder of strangers not of these.

Civilization makes friends of strangers, removes barriers of age, race, nation, even of species.

To pour out blood and money at dictate of quarreling individuals and cliques, who struggle only through the lives of those they destroy.

War has no sacredness, no more than a prize-fight. Those who die for their country's sins have wasted life as much as those who die from a defective bridge.

Civilization and commerce, science, invention and religion extend the borders of the in-group until they shall include the earth.

There will always be place for struggle. Competition and co-operation, egoism and altruism go hand in hand, and both are ineradicable and eternal, so long as life endures.

But there is room for eternal struggle, though not a drop of blood be shed wantonly.

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(Hirst): Arbiter in Council.

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Vrooman and Will: Abolition of War, Arena, 11, 118-144.

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Lacombe: La guerre et l'homme.

Warner: The Ethics of Force.

Chittenden: War or Peace.

(And many other articles in periodicals, books, etc.)



## XV. "THE GREAT ILLUSION."

(This lecture is a presentation of the argument of Norman Angell's book, *The Great Illusion*.)





## XVI. DIFFERENT TYPES OF WAR IN MODERN TIMES.

(Jordan)

### A. Civil war: war within the boundaries of a nation.

1. Caused usually by tyranny, lawlessness, ignorance, or misunderstandings, i.e., by the failure of the nation to perform its normal functions. Brigandage. Balkan States.

a. In a well-governed nation courts replace violence; in an ill-governed nation the courts may be set aside or made instruments of tyranny or plunder.

b. In a well-governed, and especially in a self-governed nation violence is in the nature of treason; in an ill-governed nation violence has meant patriotism, the last resort of "murdered, mangled liberty."

c. Democracy provides machinery to settle all questions between man and man.

The public, being the chief sufferer, has the right and duty to enforce the peace.

No cause under democracy is important enough to justify violence in its behalf, as justice can be won without violence, not by it.

"The force of arms must be kept far from matters of the Gospel."—(Luther.)

"To keep unreasoning anger out of the councils of the world."

2. Inevitable when people suffer from injustice or when people fail to enforce order.

Revolt against absolutism and the squeeze process: China, Mexico, Persia, France, labor-riots, tax-riots, bread-riots.

3. Examples of civil war.

a. American Revolution: "taxation without representation."

b. French Revolution: taxation without limit; "l'état c'est moi."

c. Civil war in United States: state rights and slavery.

d. Boxer war: invasion of foreigners, revenge of Europe.



- e. Mexican insurrection: contempt of courts and constitution; farcical elections.
- f. Revolutions in Spanish America: ambitious usurpers.
- g. Class wars: labor against capital.
- h. Dynastic wars: pretenders.
- i. Agrarian riots: Champagne; L'Ouest railways.
- j. Race riots: lynching in the southern states.
- k. Picketing, boycotting, and other petty warfare. France, Sweden, New Zealand, Canada.

B. International war: war between organized nations.

Passing, on account of burden of debt, cost of armament, refusal of laboring men to fight, opposition of commerce, prohibition by high finance, growing intelligence of people and growing respect for other nations and races.

C. Imperial wars: wars for subjection or extirpation of weaker races.

A *republic*: a self-governed state, with elective executive.

A *kingdom*: a homogeneous people having a common titular head, the king.

An *empire*: a group of different peoples united by force or by agreement, under a common titular head, the emperor.

Instability of empire.

Imperial wars, those for the extension of control over alien districts.

For exploitation. China, South Seas, Tripoli.

For bringing order out of chaos. Cuba, Korea, Morocco.

For assimilation. Korea, Finland, Alsace-Lorraine, Schleswig, Holstein.

Benefits of imperial domination.

Evils of imperial domination.

On the ruling nation.

On the people ruled.

Cost of imperial domination.

Jealousies of imperialism.

Relation of navies to imperialism.

Government of colonies in interest of resident people.

Government by "brassbound and hidebound militarism as though colonies were enemies' camps."

Alleged duty of strong nations to keep order. "Pax Britannica."

Alleged duty of strong nations to extirpate weak peoples: "Social Darwinism."



“Let him who falls in the press lie there and be trampled broad.”

Does right and wrong exist in international affairs?

Is a deed of violence by a nation justified by the advantages it brings to some or all of those who suffer by it?

Does the growth of California justify the war on Mexico?

Do the needs of Japan justify the occupation of Korea?

What are the ethics of imperialism?

What are the economics of imperialism?



## XVII. PEACE ADVOCATES AND PROJECTS OF THE PAST.

(*Krehbiel*)

### A. Religious denominations.

1. The Mennonites, beginning about 1534.
2. The Quakers or Friends.  
George Fox (1624-1691).  
Ann Austin and Mary Fisher in Massachusetts, 1656.  
Penn in Pennsylvania, 1682.
3. Exempted from military service in the colonies.  
Non-resistance only one of their tenets.

### B. Individual peace advocates and their projects.

1. Henry IV of France (1589-1610). Sully.  
"The Great Design." (Engl. ed. by Mead, 1909.)  
Proposed a hegemony subject to France against the  
Hapsburg power; therefore not a disinterested  
peace project.  
(Cf. Imperial and papal schemes of hegemony.)
2. Emeric Crucé (about 1590-1648).  
"Le Nouveau Cynée," 1623.  
"The New Cyneas," (Balch, 1909).  
Proposes an international council of all nations with  
headquarters at Venice to settle all differences  
and preserve the peace.
3. William Penn (1644-1718).  
"Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe  
by the Establishment of an European Dyet, Par-  
liament, or Estates." 1693-4. (Old South Leaf-  
lets, IV, 75.)  
Justice rather than war.  
Justice is the fruit of a proper government; hence  
a central body is desirable—  
to decide all cases not otherwise disposed of.  
to compel submittance of such cases.  
to enforce compliance with decisions.  
Language: Latin or French.  
Penn's pacific dealings with the Indians of Pennsyl-  
vania was an object lesson that was more effective  
than his publications.
4. Abbé de Saint-Pierre (1658-1743).  
"Abrégé du projet de paix perpétuelle inventé par le roi  
Henri le Grand . . ." 1713.





(Extract in Darby, *International Tribunals*, 71f).  
The first "coherent" proposal for an international tribunal (Richet, 247).

Exercised an influence toward the creation of Holy Alliance.

5. Rousseau, J. J. (1712-1778.)  
"Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle de M. L'Abbé de Saint-Pierre." (Darby, 105.)  
"Jugement sur la Paix Perpétuelle." (Darby, 117.)
6. Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790).  
"On War and Peace." 1788. (Old South Leaflets, VI, 162.)
7. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804).  
"Der Ewige Friede." 1798.  
"On Perpetual Peace." (Engl. transl. Hastie. Darby, 158.)
8. Comte de Saint-Simon.  
"Réorganisation de la société européenne . . ." 1814.
9. Other peace advocates: Landgrave of Hesse-Rheinfels, Duke Charles of Lorraine, John Bellers, Leibnitz, Fénelon, Bentham, Chateaubriand, Abbé Gregoire, James Mill, John Stuart Mill, etc.

#### C. Peace societies.

1. New York Peace Society, 1815. About 30 members.  
David Low Dodge (1774-1852) first president.  
How Dodge came to be a peace advocate.  
"The Mediator's Kingdom not of this World." 1809.  
Opposed by Noah Worcester.
2. Massachusetts Peace Society, 1816.  
Noah Worcester and William Ellery Channing.  
Worcester: "Solemn Review of the Custom of War." 1814.  
Edited: "The Friend of Peace."
3. The Peace Society (English), 1816.
4. The American Peace Society, 1828. William Ladd.  
A union of local and state societies.
5. European continental peace societies.  
The first was founded at Geneva, 1828.  
The second at Paris, 1841.
6. Peace societies today (1910). About 160 societies with many branches.  
England, 22 societies with about 45 branches.  
France, 36 societies, some of which have as many as 40 branches.  
Germany, 3 societies with 95 branches.



Austria, 8; Belgium, 3; Hungary, 2; Italy, 55; Norway, 2; Portugal, 3; Russia, 2; Spain, 2; Sweden, 8; United States, 17; Canada, 1; South American States, 7; Australia, 4; Japan, 2; Denmark, 2, with 37 branches; Persia, a society is projected.

(*Annuaire du mouvement pacifiste*, 1910.)

*D.* International peace congresses. Organizers: Count de Sella and Auguste Conveur. (List of congresses: "*La Vie Internationale*," 1908, 647.) (Bastiat.)

1. London, 1843.

2. Brussels, 1848. (Elihu Burritt's part.)

3. Paris, 1849: Victor Hugo, President; Richard Cobden, Vice-President.

4. Frankfurt, 1850.

5. London, 1851.

6. Edinburgh, 1853.

Interrupted by wars.

Geneva, 1867; Paris, 1878; Brussels, 1882; Paris, 1889.

Since 1889 they have practically met annually. Permanent headquarters established at Berne in 1891: "Permanent International Bureau of Peace." Has branch offices.

*E.* Further development of the principles of peace treated in Lecture XXII.

*F.* Other agencies working for peace, though indirectly. (Syll. XXIX.)



## XVIII. THE RESTRICTION OF FORCE THROUGH THE DEVELOPMENT OF LAW.

(*Krehbiel*)

### A. Primitive conditions; force universal.

"The state of nature is a state of war."—(Hobbes.)

(Cf. Summer: War.)

### B. The limitation of force through—

#### 1. The evolution of states.

##### a. Stages.

Families and clans.

Tribes.

Nations and empires.

##### b. Result: two kinds of law:

x. National law: suppresses force and governs within any particular political unit. Has the sanction of the unit.

Law is constantly being perfected.

Revolt against the law becomes civil war.

y. International law: governs the relations of nations.

In times of peace. (Syllabus XX.)

In times of war: force is put under restrictions.

(Mainly since 1850. Syllabus XXI.)

Lacks an effective sanction.

#### 2. The conception of law.

a. The law of might. *Faustrecht*. Law of primitive man.

Implies only as much respect for another's rights as he can command. Cannibalism. "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth."

b. Supernatural law: divine law. Law of clans and tribes.

As there were many gods, this law implied a hatred of all other peoples and their laws, and a duty to extirpate them. Israel.

Theory of divine origin of law prevailed chiefly in the tribal and earlier national periods, during which patriarchal and monarchical governments were the rule. Ordeal, trial by battle, blood-feud, vendetta.



c. Natural law: inherent in Nature.

Assumes a common basis for *all true law*, hence tends to lessen antipathies between peoples and to weaken supernatural law and monarchy.

Never generally accepted (*i.e.*, by all classes).

d. Positive law: man-made. (Voluntary or customary law.)

Implies just as much respect for the laws and rights of other nations as we respect the men of that nation.

Law made by the ruler: monarchy.

Law made by the people: democracy. (This form has been spreading for a century and a quarter.)

Acquaintance with other peoples tends to increase respect for their laws; in other words, democracy tends to diminish wars and to increase the power of law.

C. Five morals that can be deduced from the development of the Law of Nations to date. (Oppenheim, I, 73-76.)

1. A law of nations can exist only if there is an equilibrium, a balance of power, between the members of the family of nations.
2. International law can develop progressively only when international politics, especially intervention, are made on the basis of real state interests.
3. The principle of nationality is of such force that it is fruitless to try to stop its victory.
4. Every progress in the development of international law wants due time to ripen.
5. The progressive development of international law depends chiefly upon the standard of public morality on the one hand, and, on the other, upon economic interests.

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Holdsworth: History of English Law.





## XIX. THE HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW.

(Krehbiel)

## A. Before Grotius.

1. Among the Jews. Religious rules of international relations.
2. Among the Greeks.
3. Among the Romans.
4. In the Middle Ages: Practically no international law in the modern sense.
5. Early writers on international relations.
  - a. Legnano. Professor of Law at Bologna.  
"De bello, de represaliis, et de duello," 1360.
  - b. Belli. (Italian.)  
"De re militari et de bello," 1563.
  - c. Bruno. (German.)  
"De legationibus," 1548.
  - d. Victoria. (Spaniard.)  
"Reflectiones theologicae," 1557.
  - e. Ayala. (Spaniard living in the Netherlands.)  
"De jure et officiis bellicis" . . . 1582.
  - f. Suarez. (Spanish Jesuit at Coimbra, Portugal.)  
"Tractatus de legibus et de legislatore," 1612.
  - g. Gentilis. (Italian.)  
"De legationibus," 1585.  
"Commentationes de jure belli," 1588-9.  
"De jure belli libri tres," 1598.  
"Advocatio Hispanica," 1613.

## B. Hugo Grotius, (1583-1635). "Father of the Law of Nations."

1. His youth: a precocious child.
2. Political career, arrest, imprisonment, residence abroad.
3. "De jure belli ac pacis libri tres." 1625. (Engl. transl. Old South Leaflets, Vol. 5, No. 101, pp. 1-24.)  
This work recognizes both.  
Customary or voluntary law. (Positive law.)  
Natural law: This is held to be most important,  
hence: *Jus gentium*, i.e., law of nations.

## C. After Grotius.

1. Zouche, 1590-1660. Englishman.  
Emphasizes voluntary international law at the expense of the natural law of Grotius. Hence: *Jus inter gentes*, i.e., international law.



2. Three schools of the law of nations.
    - a. Naturalists: accept natural law.
      - Pufendorf (at Heidelberg), 1632-1694.
      - Christian Thomasius, 1655-1728. (German.)
      - Francis Hutcheson. (English.)
      - Thomas Rutherford. (English.)
      - Jean Barbeyrac, 1674-1744.
      - Jean Jacques Burlamaqui, 1694-1748.
    - b. Positivists: deny natural law.
      - Rachel. (German.)
      - Textor. (German.)
      - Bynkershoek, 1673-1743. (Dutchman.)
      - J. J. Moser, 1701-1785. (German.)
      - G. F. von Martens, 1756-1801. (German.)
    - c. Grotians: Recognize natural and voluntary law.
      - Christian Wolff, 1679-1754. (German.)
      - Emerich de Vattel. 1614-1767. (Swiss.)
  3. Historical development.
    - a. Naturalists and Grotians predominate to and through French Revolution.
    - b. Nineteenth century sees triumph of positivists.
      - Klüber, 1836. Positivist of the older type.
      - Wheaton, 1836. Grotian.
      - Manning, 1839. Grotian.
      - Heffter, 1844. Positivist of the older type.
      - Phillimore, 1854. Positivist of the older type.
      - Twiss, 1861. Positivist of the older type.
      - Halleck, 1861 (American). Positivist of old type.
      - Fiore, 1865. Grotian.
      - Bluntschli, 1867.
- True positivists:
- Hartmann, 1874.
  - Hall, 1880.
  - Martens, 1885 (Russian).
  - Holtzendorff, 1885.
  - Oppenheim, 1905.

## REFERENCES

- Phillipson: International Law and Custom of the Ancient Greeks and Romans.
- Consult the list of references given by
- Oppenheim: International Law, I, p. 44; 58.
  - Scott: Cases on International Law, xxiv, Sec. 5.



## XX. LAWS GOVERNING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN TIME OF PEACE.

(*Krehbiel*)

- A. Basis of international law is common consent, expressed through treaties. Theoretically the sovereignty of states remains intact. Vitiating among other things by—
1. Refusal of great powers to recognize independence of weaker states.  
Russia and England: Persia.  
England: Egypt.  
France: Morocco.  
Italy: Tripoli.  
(For a classification of states as to sovereignty consult Oppenheim, I, 154-157. Slight changes.)
  2. Infringement of another state's sovereignty for the purpose of self-protection: Danish fleet, 1807.  
Excused sometimes; ordinarily a *casus belli*.
- B. The provisions of international law relating to—
1. Types of states:  
Sovereign states, federation of states, vassal states, protected states, neutral states (Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, and formerly Congo Free State). The Papacy.
  2. Change in status of states, in territory or government.
  3. Rank and precedence of states.  
States with royal honors, and states without.  
States rank alphabetically (according to French alphabet) within each group.  
Ceremonies recognizing the dignity of states.
  4. Intervention in another state.  
By right, in default of right, in the interests of humanity.  
The Monroe Doctrine.
  5. Responsibility of states for acts of officials or citizens.
  6. Territory of a state.  
Boundaries, riparian rights, navigation of international rivers, land-locked seas, canals, maritime belt, territoriality of gulfs, bays and straits, modes of acquiring territory, modes of losing territory.
  7. The open sea.  
Maritime sovereignty was formerly the rule.  
Open sea became the rule by nineteenth century.



The marine league.

Jurisdiction on the high seas: rules of traffic, ship's papers, right of visit, search, and arrest.

Piracy, fishing, cables.

8. Individuals.

Nationality, naturalization, expatriation, right of asylum, exclusion of foreigners, expulsion of foreigners, extradition (not, however, of political criminals).

9. Diplomatic agents.

Classes of agents, functions and entering upon them, position, inviolability, extraterritoriality, servants, termination of mission.

10. Consular agents.

Appointment, functions, position and privileges (in non-Christian states), termination of functions.

11. Special agents abroad.

Armed forces abroad in time of peace.

Men-of-war in foreign waters.

Non-diplomatic or non-consular agents, commissions.

Officials: postal, telegraph, commercial, etc.

12. International transactions.

Negotiations, declarations, congresses, conferences.

Courts of arbitration.

Treaties: framing, ratification, dissolution, voidance, cancellation, renewal, interpretation.

Alliances. Unions (for non-political purposes: postal).

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Consult works on International Law.





## XXI. INTERNATIONAL RULES FOR WAR (RESTRICTION OF FORCE).

(*Krehbiel*)

### A. Principal treaties and international agreements which have placed restrictions upon warfare.

1. Declaration of Paris, 1856.  
(Martens: *Recueil de Traités*, XV, 767.)  
Scott: *Texts of the Peace Conferences*, 349.
2. Francis Lieber Code, 1863.  
(Cong. Doc. 1607, No. 100.)  
Scott: *Texts*, 350-376.
3. Geneva Convention, 1864. (1866.)  
(Martens: *Recueil de Traités*, XVIII, 607.)  
Scott: *Texts*, 376-381.
4. Declaration of St. Petersburg, 1868.  
(Martens: *Recueil de Traités*, XVIII, 445.)  
Scott: *Texts*, 381-382.
5. Hague Peace Conference, 1899.  
(Martens, 2d ser. XXVI, 920.)  
Scott: *Texts*, 1-92.
6. Convention regarding hospital ships (The Hague), 1904.  
Scott: *Texts*, 400-402.
7. Geneva convention for the amelioration of the condition of the sick and wounded of armies in the field, 1906.  
Scott: *Texts*, 402-410.
8. The Second Hague Conference, 1907.  
Scott: *Texts*, 93-334.
9. Declaration of London, 1909.  
U. S. Naval War Collège: *Intern. Law Topics*, 1909.  
This Declaration will presumably be the basis for decisions of the Prize Court established at the Second Hague Conference, 1907.

### B. Warfare on Land.

- I. Rules relating to arms and armor.
  1. Projectiles of weight below 400 grams which are explosive or inflammable are prohibited (1868).
  2. Prohibitions of 1899 and 1907.
    - a. Using implements which render death inevitable or needlessly aggravate suffering.
    - b. Poison on projectiles, in water or food.



- c.* Glass, irregularly shaped iron, nails, chain-shot, cross-bar-shot, red-hot balls and the like.
- d.* Expanding bullets, or those which flatten easily in the body. (Mushroom bullets.)
- e.* Launching projectiles or explosives from balloons.
- f.* Using projectiles diffusing deleterious or asphyxiating gas.

## II. Rules regulating methods of fighting.

### 1. Desertion (1863).

- a.* Deserters of the army punished by death.
- b.* Deserters of one army registered in the enemy's army may be put to death for desertion of their own army, by officials of the deserted force.

### 2. Espionage (1863).

- a.* Spies may be hung whether they succeed in getting information or not.
- b.* Spy taken in act, can not be punished without previous trial (1899, 1907).
- c.* A spy after joining army to which he belongs and subsequently captured by the enemy is treated as a prisoner of war, and incurs no responsibility for his previous acts of espionage (1899, 1907).
- d.* Following are not considered spies:  
Soldiers and civilians carrying out their mission openly and delivering despatches to their own army or to enemy's army (1899-1907).

### 3. Armistice (1863).

- a.* Must be agreed upon in writing by both parties.
- b.* If conditions, they must be clearly expressed.
- c.* May be general, for the whole army; or special, for certain troops, etc.
- d.* Does not mean peace but suspension of operations.
- e.* When broken by one party, the other party under no obligation to hold to it.
- f.* If armistice is ended the other side must be warned. (1899.)
- g.* An armistice must be officially announced (1899).
- h.* Hostilities must be suspended immediately or at a fixed date (1899, 1907).

### 4. Treachery.

- a.* Traitors are put to death (1863).
- b.* A citizen serving as a guide against his own country is a traitor and may be treated as such (1863).
- c.* All unauthorized and secret communications with the enemy are considered treasonable.



- d.* An envoy taking advantage of his position under a flag of truce is considered to have committed an act of treachery (1899, 1907).
  - e.* Feigned surrender is treachery (Oppenheim, p. 166).
  - f.* Assassination is treachery (Oppenheim, p. 117).
  - g.* Treacherous requests for quarter or feigning sickness and wounds are treated as treachery.
- 5. Ruses.
  - a.* The use of the enemy's national flag for the purpose of deceiving the enemy in battle is an act of perfidy which forfeits all claim to protection of the laws of war.
  - b.* Ruses of war and employment of methods necessary to obtain information about the enemy and the country are considered allowable (1899).
  - c.* Feigned signals and bugle calls can be ordered, watch words of the enemy may be used (Oppenheim, p. 165).
- 6. Cartels.
  - a.* An exchange of prisoners of war is an act of convenience to both belligerents. If no general cartel has been concluded, it cannot be demanded by either of them (1863). A cartel is voidable as soon as either party has violated it (1863).
- 7. Outlawry.
  - a.* Religion and morality to be respected and protected against outlawry (1863).
  - b.* Armed prowlers who rob, destroy bridges, roads, canals, telegraphs, and commit outlawry in general, are not allowed the privileges of prisoners of war (1863).
  - c.* All wanton violence committed against persons and property shall be punished by death (1863).
- 8. Flags of truce.
  - a.* Firing is not required to cease on appearance of a flag of truce in battle (1863).
  - b.* Bearer of a flag of truce cannot insist upon being admitted (1863, 1899, 1907).
  - c.* If bearer of flag of truce abuse the trust he may be considered a spy (1863, 1899, 1907).
  - d.* Bearer of flag of truce has right to inviolability (1899, 1907).
- 9. Limitations on cruelty.
  - a.* Sick or disabled combatants must not be killed (1899).



- b. No inhuman treatment of prisoners of war (1899, 1907).
- c. Combatants who surrender shall not be killed (1899, 1907).
- d. To declare that no quarter will be given is prohibited (1899, 1907).
- e. Prisoners of war shall not be tortured for information (1863).
- f. No arms or means to be used which render death inevitable or cause needless suffering (1899, 1907).

### III. Rules governing conduct towards combatants.

- 1. Military necessity admits of all direct destruction of life or limb of armed enemies and of other persons whose destruction is incidentally unavoidable in the armed contests of war (1863).
- 2. Retaliation, never as revenge, but only as means of protective retribution (1863).
- 3. Soldiers not in disguise who are in the zone of hostile operations of the army are not considered spies (1899, 1907).

### IV. Rules governing conduct towards non-combatants.

- 1. The persons of the inhabitants, especially those of women, shall be protected (1863).
- 2. Subjects of the enemy cannot be forced into the service of the victorious government, until after a complete conquest of the country (1863).
- 3. Non-combatants in case of capture by the enemy can be treated as prisoners of war (1899, 1907).
- 4. Inhabitants cannot be forced to render services except for needs of army of occupation, against their own country. Services shall be in proportion to the resources of the country (1899, 1907).

### V. Rules for prisoners of war.

- 1. A prisoner of war is a public enemy, attached to the hostile army for active aid, who has fallen into hands of the captor, by individual surrender or by capitulation. All enemies who have thrown away their arms and ask for quarter, are prisoners of war (1863).
- 2. A prisoner of war is subject to no punishment.
- 3. A prisoner of war is answerable for his crimes committed against the captor's army or people. All prisoners are liable to infliction of any retaliatory measures (1863).
- 4. Prisoners of war are prisoners of the government, and not the captor, and are released by the government itself (1863, 1899, 1907).





5. A prisoner of war who escapes may be shot (1863).
  6. Personal belongings of prisoners of war remain their property (1899).
  7. Prisoners can only be confined as an indispensable measure of safety (1899, 1907).
  8. Tasks assigned prisoners shall not be excessive and shall have nothing to do with military operations (1899, 1907).
  9. Prisoners of war shall be treated on same footing in regard to food, quarters, clothing, as the troops of the government capturing them (1899, 1907).
  10. Every prisoner is required to give his true name and rank.
- VI. Rules governing enemy's property.
1. Public property.
    - a. A victorious army appropriates all public money and public property until further directed by the government (1863).
    - b. Churches, school houses, hospitals, are not considered public property, but may be taxed or used when public service may require it (1863, 1899).
    - c. Classical works of art, libraries, precious instruments, scientific collections, etc., must be saved without injury and must be kept in fortified places (1863, 1899, 1907).
    - d. All appliances for the transmission of news may be seized but must be restored or compensation made for them when peace is made (1899, 1907).
  2. Private property.
    - a. Private property can be seized only through military necessity.
    - b. Money and other valuables on person of a prisoner are regarded as private property (1863).
    - c. Private property cannot be confiscated (1899, 1907).
    - d. Pillage prohibited (1899, 1907).
- VII. Treatment of dead and wounded.
1. Every captured wounded enemy shall be medically treated according to the medical ability of the staff (1863).
  2. Hospitals are designated by yellow flags so enemy may avoid firing on them (1863).
  3. Collection of sick and wounded after the battle without distinction of parties (1864).
  4. Hospital corps and medical staff are neutral (1864).
  5. Hospitals are neutral unless held by military force (1864).
  6. Dead bodies shall, if possible, be buried.



7. Dead bodies shall not be disgracefully treated.

(Hague Conference, 1907, resolved to approve the above rules as adopted by the Geneva Convention, 1864).

### C. Warfare at Sea.

1. Privateering abolished (1856).
2. Neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband of war (1856).
3. Neutral goods (contraband excepted) cannot be confiscated even when sailing under the enemy's flag (1856).
4. A blockade must be effective to be binding (1856).
5. Merchant ships on high seas ignorant of hostilities cannot be confiscated (1907).
6. Prohibitions.
  - a. A vessel may not fly any flag other than her own to avoid attack.
  - b. Attack on or sinking of enemy vessels which have hauled down their flags as a sign of surrender. All attack on enemy merchantmen without previous request to submit to visit.
  - c. Attack or seizure of hospital ships.
  - d. To use hospital ships for any other purpose.
  - e. To capture neutral merchantmen, yachts or vessels, for having or taking on board sick, wounded, or shipwrecked combatants.
  - f. To lay unanchored, automatic contact mines except where they are so constructed as to become harmless one hour at most after person who laid them ceases to control them; or to lay those which do not become harmless as soon as they break loose from their moorings.
  - g. To use torpedos which do not become harmless when they have missed their mark.
  - h. Bombardment of undefended towns, ports, etc., except after due notice.
  - i. Not to spare sick wards as far as possible in case of a fight on board a warship.
  - j. Religious, medical and hospital staff of any captured ship is inviolable.
  - k. To bury or cremate the dead without careful examination of the corpse.
  - l. To capture vessels used exclusively for fishing.
  - m. Soldiers or sailors taken on board when sick or wounded, to whatever force they belong, shall be protected and looked after by the captors.



## 7. Contraband. (Declaration of London, 1909).

## a. Articles which are absolute contraband. (Article 22.)

- (1) Arms of all kinds.
- (2) Projectiles, charges and cartridges of all kinds and their unassembled, distinctive parts.
- (3) Powder and explosives especially adapted for use in war.
- (4) Gun carriages, caissons, limbers, military wagons, field forges, and their unassembled, distinctive parts.
- (5) Clothing and equipment of a distinctively military character.
- (6) All kinds of harness of a distinctively military character.
- (7) Saddle, draught and pack animals suitable for use in war.
- (8) Articles of camp equipment.
- (9) Armor plate.
- (10) Warships and floats and their unassembled parts suitable for use only in a vessel of war.
- (11) Implements and apparatus made exclusively for the manufacture of munitions of war, for the manufacture or repair of arms, or of military material for use on land or sea.

## b. Conditional contraband articles. (Article 24.)

- (1) Food.
- (2) Forage and grain suitable for feeding animals.
- (3) Clothing and fabrics for clothing, boots and shoes.
- (4) Gold and silver in coin or bullion; paper money.
- (5) Vehicles of all kinds available for use in war, and their unassembled parts.
- (6) Vessels, craft, and boats of all kinds, floating docks, parts of docks, as also their unassembled parts.
- (7) Fixed railway material and rolling-stock, and material for telegraphs, radio telegraphs, and telephones.
- (8) Balloons and flying machines.
- (9) Fuel; lubricants.
- (10) Powder and explosives which are not specially adapted for use in war.
- (11) Barbed wire.
- (12) Horseshoes and horseshoeing materials.
- (13) Harness and saddlery material.
- (14) Binocular glasses, telescopes, etc.



c. Following articles are not to be regarded as contraband of war. (Articles 29, 28.)

- (1) Articles and materials serving exclusively for the care of sick and wounded. Articles and materials intended for the use of the vessel in which they are found, as well as those for the use of her crew and passengers during the voyage.
- (2) Raw cotton, wool, silk, jute, flax, hemp, and other raw materials of the textile industries, and also yarns of the same.
- (3) Nuts and oil seeds; copra.
- (4) Rubber, resins, gums, and lacs; hops.
- (5) Raw hides, horns, bones, and ivory.
- (6) Natural and artificial fertilizers, including nitrates and phosphates for agricultural purposes.
- (7) Metallic ores.
- (8) Earths, clays, lime, chalk, stone, including marble, bricks, slates, and tiles.
- (9) Chinaware and glass.
- (10) Paper and materials prepared for its manufacture.
- (11) Soap, paint and colors, including articles exclusively used in their manufacture; and varnishes.
- (12) Bleaching powder, soda ash, caustic soda, salt cake, ammonia, sulphate of ammonia and sulphate of copper.
- (13) Agricultural, mining, textile and printing machinery.
- (14) Precious stones, semi-precious stones, pearls, mother-of-pearl, and coral.
- (15) Clocks and watches, other than chronometers.
- (16) Fashion and fancy goods.
- (17) Feathers of all kinds, hairs, bristles.
- (18) Articles of household furniture and decoration; office furniture and accessories.

#### REFERENCES

See the treaties and conventions mentioned at the beginning of this lecture. Also works on international law.

Spiller: Inter-Racial Problems, 410f.





## XXII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

(*Krehbiel*)

### A. Ancient Period.

1. Oriental states: probably did not use arbitration.
2. Greece: Arbitration well known. About 75 cases recorded.

Arbiters: Amphictyonic Council, oracles, friendly cities.  
Awards executed in a ratio of 17 : 3.

3. Rome: Arbitration known, but the extension of the Empire tended to bring it into disuse.

Three classes of arbitration (Phillipson, 154).

International, federal, administrative.

### B. Mediaeval period. Not a feature of the middle ages though many differences were settled by means of arbitration.

1. Arbiters: pope, emperor, various potentates, cities.
2. Special agreements to arbitrate (Moch, 36-38).
  1238. Treaty of alliance between Genoa and Venice contained a general arbitral clause.
  1291. Three Swiss cantons accept arbitration.
  1389. Denmark and Norway obliged by treaty to submit their differences to the Hanse for settlement.
  1418. Hanseatic cities adopt principle of arbitration.
  1516. "Perpetual peace" between France and Switzerland recognizes the principle.

### C. Modern Period.

1. Early advocates of arbitration (See Lecture XVII).
2. Early treaties involving the principle of arbitration (Darby, 24of.).
 

"Conservators of Commerce," 1606.  
Treaties of Westminster, 1654-1674.  
Treaty of Florence: England and Savoy, 1669.  
Judges Conservators, 1712. (Assiento.)  
Treaty of Ryswick, 1697.  
Jay Treaty: United States and England, 1794. Usually regarded as the first modern treaty of arbitration.
3. The acceptance of arbitration by legislative bodies.  
(It will be noticed that the work of the peace advocates mentioned in Lecture XVII was in the main of a private, unofficial character; it prepared the way for legislative or official consideration of arbitration which is here treated.)



The United States played a leading rôle.

- 1835. Resolution favoring the erection of an international tribunal of arbitration adopted by the Senate of Massachusetts (Ladd and Thomson).
- 1837. Similar resolution adopted by both House and Senate of Massachusetts.
- 1842. William Jay proposed a treaty of arbitration with England.
- 1851. Committee on foreign affairs (Senate?) approved of arbitration.
- 1853. Senate of U. S. unanimously adopted Underwood resolution favoring arbitration.
- 1873. Congress adopted a resolution favoring an arbitral tribunal and the insertion of arbitral clauses in treaties (Sumner, Bordenman Smith).
- 1882. President Arthur's message favors arbitration.
- 1888. Congress approves a bill favoring treaties of arbitration with all powers (Sherman, Hitt).
- (1889: Pan-American Movement; First Pan-American Conference.)

France, first in Europe.

- 1849. Bouvert introduced a resolution in favor of arbitration into National Assembly. Defeated.

England.

- 1849. Bill favoring arbitration defeated by Commons after violent debate (Cobden, Hobhouse, Milner-Gibson, Elihu Burritt).
- 1873. Commons approved arbitration, though opposed by Gladstone (Richard, Lawson).
- 1887. Bill introduced into the House of Lords but withdrawn because of the opposition of Lord Salisbury (Marquis of Bristol).
- 1887. Treaty of arbitration with United States attempted by England at the instance of John Bright.

The Netherlands.

- 1873-4. Question of arbitration raised in the States-General by Van Eck and Bredius. No action. Carried further in 1878, and 1904.



## Italy.

1873. Mancini introduced a bill into Chambers favoring the insertion of arbitral clauses in treaties. Adopted. Has been put into practice.

## Sweden.

1874. Lower House adopted resolution favoring a permanent arbitral tribunal (Jonassen).

## Denmark.

1875. Measure similar to the last above defeated in the Folketing (Lower House).  
1878. Folketing adopted a petition favoring the arbitration of differences between Scandinavian states.

## Belgium.

1875. Senate and Chamber of Representatives adopted a measure favoring arbitration (Couvreur, Thonissen, Kint de Roodenbeke).

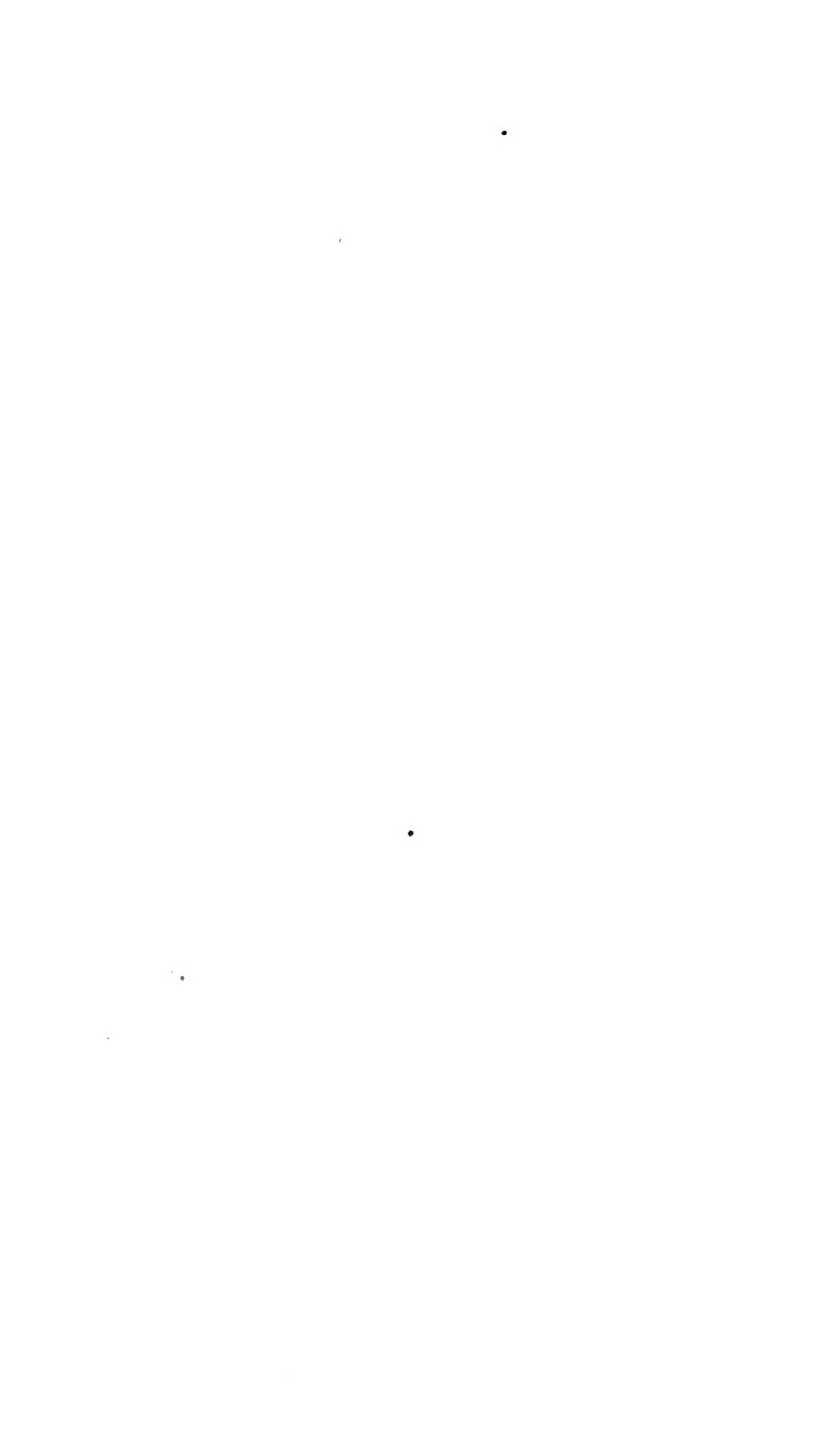
The establishment of the Interparliamentary Union, 1889, and the initial success of the Pan-American movement, 1889, practically saw the triumph of the principle of arbitration of international differences. Since that time the question has been what the scope of arbitration shall be, as will appear from the following.

## D. Classification of treaties of arbitration.

(Writers differ in their classification, and the following grouping is a combination.)

1. Treaties submitting a specific difference to arbitration, drafted *after* the dispute began ("occasional" arbitration).
2. Treaties agreeing to submit to arbitration *future* differences ("permanent") :
  - a. As to the interpretation of the treaty (containing the clause of arbitration); or rising out of it ("à clause spéciale.")

First of this kind: Chile-Peru, 1823 (Moch, 9).  
For a list (incomplete) of treaties of this kind see La Fontaine: *Pasicrisie*, xii.



b. Whether rising out of treaties or otherwise, excepting certain categories of disputes.

x. This has been accomplished (1) by inserting a clause to that effect in a treaty relating to another matter, "à clause générale." (The first treaty of this kind according to La Fontaine, x, is Colombia-Central Republic, 1825. La Fontaine gives an incomplete list of these treaties); or (2), by a treaty made especially for the purpose (a treaty of arbitration proper). Moch, p. 41, seems to hold that the first treaty of this character was one between Columbia and Peru, 1822.

y. Reservations.

Questions which can be decided by the national courts.

Questions concerning the constitution of a state.

Questions of vital interest, independence, national honor, and those which concern the interests of third parties (France-England, 1903; U. S.-England, 1908; and many others).

Questions not "justiciable in their nature by reason of being susceptible of decision by the application of the principles of law or equity." (So-called Taft treaties with England and France, pending Jan. 1912.)

c. All differences whatsoever; without reservation.

Unlimited or general treaties. (See Lecture XXIII).  
All since 1902.

3. Compulsory or "obligatory" treaties. (Not accepted by all writers.)

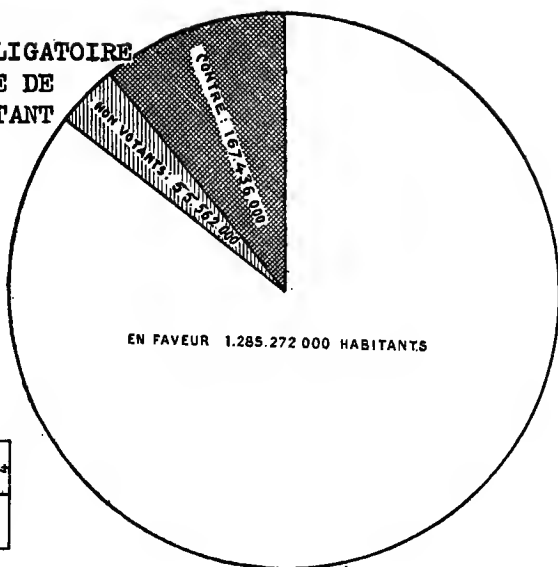
Those who accept this classification are careful to state that they do not mean compulsion from without but moral obligation, resulting from having promised to accept arbitration; and some writers indicate that a treaty is obligatory which *expressly* promises to accept arbitration (e.g., "La Vie Internationale," 1908, 516).

Other writers hold that the distinction is not a proper one, as all treaties accepting arbitration carry a moral obligation to have recourse to arbitration, without express statement to that effect; unless, indeed, they distinctly reserve the right to decide in each case.

The term "obligatory" arbitration is used in Article 19, Convention I of the Hague Conference, 1899. Hence its importance.

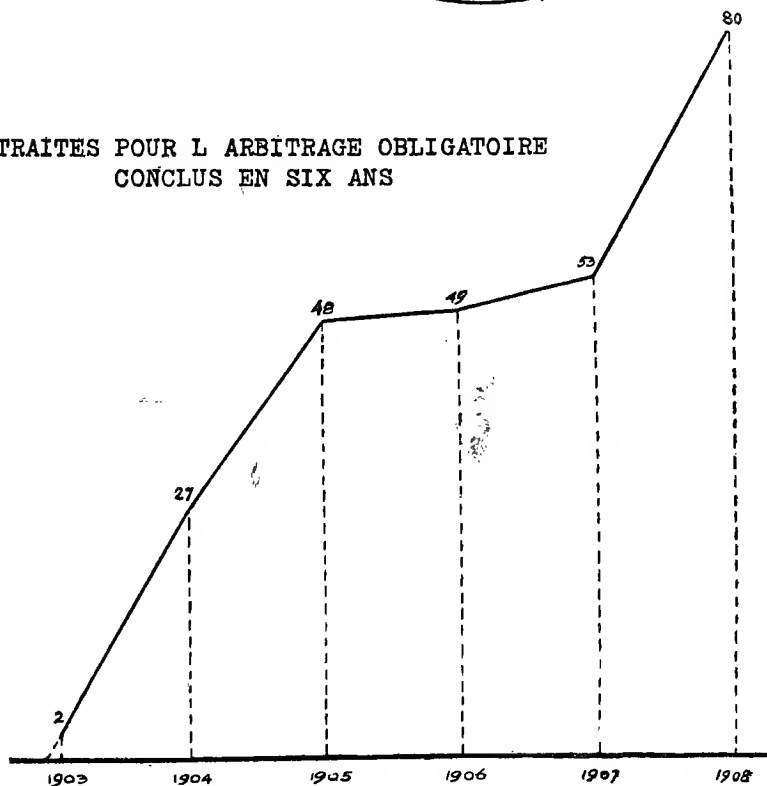


LE VOTE EN FAVEUR  
DE L'ARBITRAGE OBLIGATOIRE  
A LA 2<sup>e</sup> CONFERENCE DE  
LA HAYE. PAR HABITANT



EN FAVEUR 35	CONTRE 5	NON VOTANTS 6
VOTE PAR NATIONS		

TRAITES POUR L'ARBITRAGE OBLIGATOIRE  
CONCLUS EN SIX ANS



4. A general treaty of arbitration which all nations shall sign has been advocated.
  5. Life of treaties of arbitration.  
For five or ten years; renewable; lapse if not renewed.  
Indeterminate; run until abrogated.
- E. Number of treaties of arbitration is hard to establish because of the differences in classification, and incompleteness of researches.
1. Treaties of occasional arbitration; number not ascertainable.
  2. Treaties agreeing to submit future differences ("à clause spéciale" and "à clause générale").  
La Fontaine, xiv-xv. 1821-1900.
- |                     |     |
|---------------------|-----|
| North America ..... | 172 |
| Europe .....        | 87  |
| Africa .....        | 12  |
| Asia .....          | 6   |
| South America ..... | 4   |
| Total .....         | 281 |
- Moch, 127-130. 1822-1909.  
314 treaties of all classes.  
120 eliminated because counted twice or expired.  
—  
194 in force in 1909.  
Of these 163 are treaties of arbitration proper according to Moch's classification.
3. Treaties of compulsory or "obligatory" arbitration. These were made in pursuance of Article 19, of the Convention for Pacific Settlement, Hague Conference, 1899.
- |           |                          |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| 1903..... | 2 treaties of this kind. |
| 1904..... | 27                       |
| 1905..... | 48                       |
| 1906..... | 49                       |
| 1907..... | 53                       |
| 1908..... | 60                       |
- (Bulletin de la Conciliation Intern. No. 3, 1908.)
- Number of treaties according to plate taken from "La Vie Internationale," 1908, p. 516.



*F. Arbitral Procedure* (Ralston: *International Arbitral Law and Procedure*, especially pp. 17-85; 129-140).

1. Special agreement ("compromis," protocol). Every case is submitted to arbitration by means of a special agreement.

a. Names the arbiters. (A list in Richet, 300-301.)  
Single arbiter.

Tribunal: each disputant selects arbiters and these selected representatives name an umpire.

b. Defines the powers of the arbiters.

c. Fixes the rules of procedure.

d. Defines the question at issue.

e. Promises to accept the award (sometimes).

f. Special agreement as provided by the Hague Conferences.

1899, I, Art. 31 (Scott: texts, 36).

1907, I, Art. 52 (Scott: texts, 177).

Differences about the special agreement may be arbitrated.

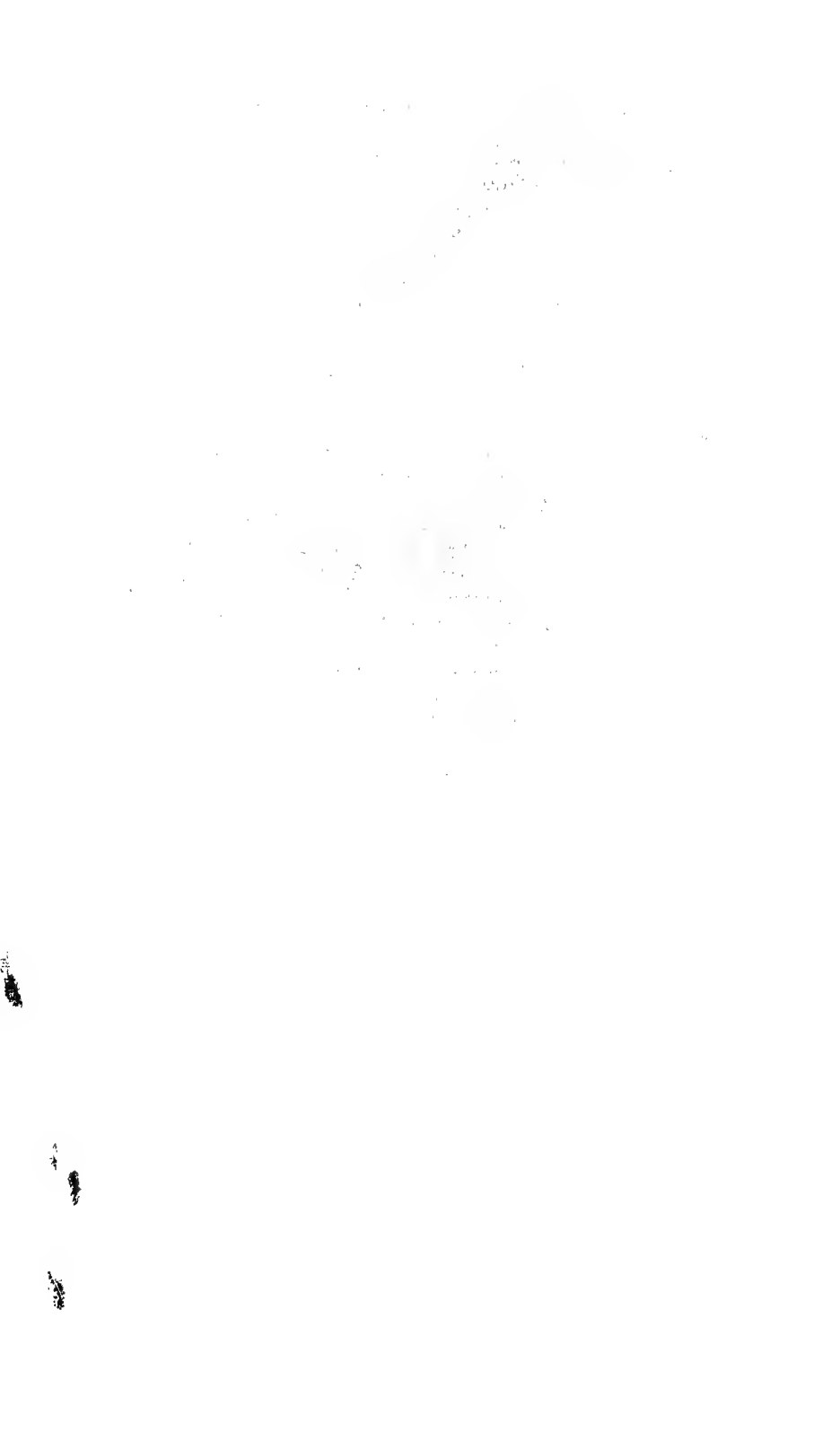
g. Each power ratifies the special agreement according to the provisions of its constitution.

2. Procedure.

The procedure is determined by special agreement. No code as yet accepted, though Hague Conferences make a beginning, 1899, I, Art. 48: The "tribunal is authorized to declare its competence in interpreting the 'Compromis' . . . in applying the principles of international [the word "international" was omitted from the draft of 1907] law." (Scott: Texts, 40-41.)

3. Appeal and revision.

Arbitration implies the intention to accept the award. Hague Conference, 1899, I, Art. 55: "The parties can reserve in the 'Compromis' the right to demand the revision of the award. In this case, and unless there be an agreement to the contrary, the demand must be addressed to the Tribunal which pronounced the award. It can only be made on the ground of the discovery of some new fact calculated to exercise a decisive influence on the award, and which, at the time the discussion was closed, was unknown to the Tribunal and to the party demanding the revision. Proceedings for revision can only be instituted by a decision of the Tribunal expressly recording the existence of the new fact, recognizing in it the character described in the foregoing paragraph, and declaring the demand admissible on this ground. The 'Compromis' fixes the period within which the demand for the revision must be made." (Scott: Texts, 42-43.)



## 4. The sanction of arbitration.

## Public opinion.

Surrendering the object in dispute to the arbiters beforehand, to be disposed of according to the sentence; or, if that is not feasible, giving some pledge which is to be sequestrated if the award is not accepted; such as territory, a building, property, lien on customs, a ship, etc.

(Chile offered to deposit one million dollars with the Hague Tribunal in her dispute with the United States, 1909.)

## G. Mediation and good offices.

Object: to permit third powers to help disputants bring their differences to arbitration, or to bring a war to an end.

Encouraged by the Hague Conferences.

1899, I, Art. 2-8 (Scott: Texts, 24-26).

1907, I, Art. 2-8 (Scott: Texts, 157-159).

## H. International Commissions of Inquiry (Ralston, 315-318).

First formal recognition by Hague Conference, 1899, I, Art. 9-14. (Scott: Texts, 26-28.)

If powers cannot settle a matter by diplomatic means, a commission may be appointed to investigate the facts.

Constituted by special agreement (as above).

Powers are expected to help the work of the commission by furnishing the facts in their possession.

Report of the commission has about it nothing of the character of an award, and leaves the nations at dispute their entire freedom.

Commission employed in the "Dogger Bank" affair. (Only use to date.)

Second Hague Conference, 1907, I, Art. 9-36 (Scott: Texts, 159-168), elaborates the scheme.

## I. Frequency of recourse to arbitration. (Hague cases. See Lecture XXVII.)

Moch, 26. 1800-1900. 212 cases. All accepted.

Darby, 769-917. 1800-1900. 222 arbitrations proper.

1900-1904. 21

Total 243 formal arbitrations.

Besides these, Darby gives 297 instances in which he considers the principle of arbitration was applied.



La Fontaine, viii. 1794-1900, 177 arbitrations.

1794-1820.....15 cases.

1821-1840..... 8

1841-1860.....20

1861-1880.....44

1881-1900.....90.

By countries to 1901. (To 1904, Richet, p. 304.)

Great Britain.....70 (heads the list).

United States .....56

Chile .....26

France .....26

(For the complete list by countries and by grand divisions see La Fontaine, ix.)

Richet, 362-4. 1794-1904. 210 cases.

(Richet gives a list of these cases by years and by decades, showing the average per year.)

*J.* Serious differences settled by arbitration (selected).

Alabama case (1871-2); The Carolines (Germany and France, 1885); Samoan Case (United States, Germany, England, 1899); Guiana boundary (England-Venezuela, 1899; United States intervened); Casablanca affair (Germany-France, 1909); House-Tax case (England, France, Germany-Japan, 1905), etc.

*K.* Classes of differences submitted to arbitration.

Boundary disputes (probably most abundant), territory, violation of territorial integrity, pecuniary claims of all kinds (including the crown jewels of the House of Hanover), commerce, navigation of rivers, fisheries, interpretation of treaties, violations of treaties, indemnities, immigration, citizenship, tariffs, seizure of ships, false arrests (sovereignty?—succession to the throne of Persia, 1835; inheritance in Lippe-Detmold, 1897; House-tax in Japan, 1905; Ottoman Public Debt, 1903).

*L.* Success of arbitration: Every award has been accepted.

(Some mention the award of the King of the Netherlands in the Canadian boundary case between the United States and Great Britain, 1831, as an exception. However, the United States rejected the award on the ground that the arbiter had exceeded his powers; hence this is not a real refusal to accept the decision. The difference was settled by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842.

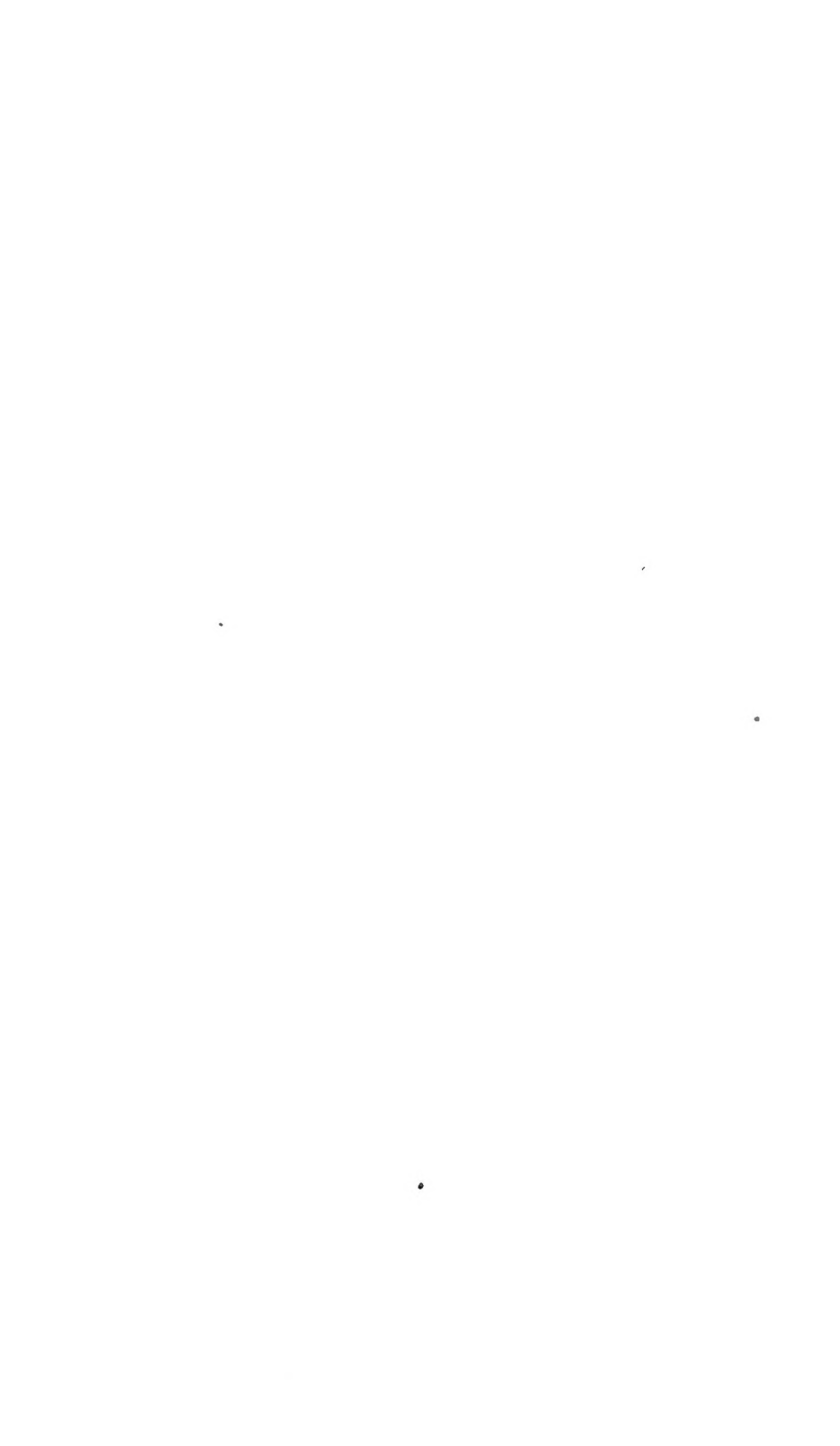
Bolivia and Peru threatened to reject an arbitral sentence in 1909, but finally accepted it.





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 (Consult also periodicals, encyclopedias, treatises on international law, etc.)



## XXIIa. EXAMPLES OF INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

(*Jordan*)

- A. Three ways of settling an international difference peaceably.
  - 1. Adjustment.
  - 2. Arbitration.
  - 3. Judicial determination.
- B. Adjustment.
  - Maine boundary.
  - "Fifty-four forty or fight."
  - Northwest angle.
  - Pope's folly.
- C. Arbitration.
  - 1. Bering Sea case (1892).
    - a. Question.
      - Fur seal breeds on Pribilof and Komandorski.
      - Remains in sea all winter.
      - Females go out to feed in summer.
      - Young born in early July, weaned in September.
      - 1,000,000 females on Pribilof in 1885; 500,000 on Komandorski.
      - 29 out of 30 males superfluous.
      - Land killing affects superfluous males only.
      - Pelagic sealing kills animals at sea indiscriminately.
      - For every female killed, one unborn young dies, or "pup" starves.
      - Cut down to 350,000 in 1893.
      - Cut down to 150,000 in 1897.
      - Seizure of Canadian vessels.
    - b. Court of arbitration.
      - Seven judges: two American, two British, one French, one Norwegian, one Italian (advocates on bench).
      - No experts allowed to appear; no cross-examination.
      - No agreed case or statement of facts.
      - All testimony in printed affidavits (mostly perjury on both sides).
      - Judges could not read testimony (time too short and language foreign).
      - Introduction of new evidence (by telegram) in closing argument.
      - Arbitration (splitting the difference) in place of judgment.



## c. Claim of United States.

Bering Sea a *Mare Clausum* (on basis of Russian claims).

Justified in seizing poachers. (Act of war.)

Fur seal has *animus revertendi* (purpose to return).

## d. Claim of Great Britain.

Bering Sea open ocean.

Hence, natural right to kill (because not forbidden).

Animal not harmed by killing of females and young.

## e. British claims, based on affidavits:

That seals shot and lost are not more than 3%.

That females did not out-number males.

These largely barren.

That Russian and American herds intermingle.

That not all seals land.

That the number steadily increases.

That they mate at sea.

That they have other breeding places.

That they find new ones.

That sexes are indistinguishable.

That sexes travel together.

That breeding islands are often raided.

That starving pups seek other mothers.

That pups eat sea weed.

That driving on land destroys virility.

That killing of superfluous males destroys herd.

That Russia only demanded 30 miles of protection.

## f. Decision of court.

## a. Matters of law.

Bering Sea not *Mare Clausum*.

Herd not owned by U. S.

No right of seizure.

Seals must be protected in interest of humanity.

## b. Arbitration.

Regulations set up to preserve the fur seal; these the result of splitting difference, not study of animal. This made killing legal and gave it great impetus, being no longer illicit adventure or piracy.

Herd has 50,000 breeding females (1910).

Probable basis of settlement.



2. Alaska Boundary (1903).  
Boundary on mountain chain or three miles from coast,  
if mountains are frontier.  
Settled by judicial determination.  
Compromise was expected.  
Compromise on Pearse Channel *vice* Portland  
Channel.
3. Samoan Affair (1899).  
Bombardment of Apia.  
Germany vs. Great Britain and United States.
4. Newfoundland Fisheries.  
Principle of servitude.  
Does coast-line follow indentations?
5. The International Fisheries.  
Adjustment by commission.  
"The Marauders' Plea of Contiguity."

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(For additional references consult the particular cases in Darby: *International Tribunals*.)
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## XXIII. TREATIES OF UNLIMITED ARBITRATION.

(Krehbiel)

- A. Treaties of unlimited arbitration are those which contemplate the arbitration of all differences which are really international in character.

The prevailing type of treaty reserves certain categories of differences from arbitration, "differences . . . which do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting parties, and do not concern the interests of third parties."—(Treaty between United States and Great Britain, 1908.)

- B. Treaties of unlimited arbitration.

1. Argentine-Chile.

May 28, 1902. Ratifications exchanged September 22, 1902. (British and Foreign State Papers, 95, 759.)

Art. I. "The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to submit to arbitration all controversies between them, of whatever nature they may be, or from whatever cause they may have arisen, except when they affect the principles of the Constitution of either country, and provided that no other settlement is possible by direct negotiations."

(Article II provides that questions that are regarded as settled at the time the treaty is signed may not be forced to arbitration under the treaty.)

2. Denmark-Netherlands.

February 12, 1904. Ratifications exchanged March 8, 1906. (British State Papers, 98, 454. Moch, 86.)

Art. 1. "Les Hautes Parties contractantes s'engagent à soumettre à la Cour Permanente d'Arbitrage tous les différends et tous les litiges entre elles, qui n'auront pu être résolus par les voies diplomatiques."

Art. 3. "Il est bien entendu que l'article 1<sup>er</sup> n'est pas applicable aux différends entre les ressortissants de l'un des états contractants et l'autre état contractant, que les tribunaux de ce dernier état seraient, d'après la législation de cet état, compétents à juger."

3. Denmark-Italy.

December 16, 1905. Ratifications exchanged May 22, 1906. (British State Papers, 99, 1035. Moch, 86-7.)



By article I the contracting parties agree to submit  
 "tous les différends de n'importe quelle nature  
 qui viendraient à s'élever entre elles et qui  
 n'auraient pu être résolus par les voies diplo-  
 matiques, et cela même dans le cas où ces dif-  
 férends auraient leur origine dans des faits  
 antérieurs à la conclusion de la présente con-  
 vention."

Art. 4. "Il est entendu qu'à moins que la contro-  
 verse ne porte sur l'application d'une convention entre  
 les deux états, ou qu'il ne s'agisse d'un cas de déni de  
 justice, l'article 1<sup>er</sup> ne sera pas applicable aux différends  
 qui pourraient s'élever entre un ressortissant de l'une  
 des parties et l'autre état contractant lorsque les tri-  
 bunaux auront, d'après la législation de cet état, com-  
 pétence pour juger la contestation."

4. Denmark-Portugal.

March 22, 1907.

(Similar to Denmark-Italy treaty. Moch, 86.)

5. Costa Rica-Honduras-Guatemala-Nicaragua-Salvador.

December 20, 1907.

Each of these countries entered upon the treaty with  
 each other, which is the reason why Moch counts this  
 series as ten treaties. (Bulletin of the Bureau of  
 American Republics, 25, 1345f.)

Article I. They [the Republics of Central Amer-  
 ica] "bind themselves to always preserve the most com-  
 plete harmony and decide every difference or difficulty  
 that may arise amongst them, of whatsoever nature it  
 may be, by means of the Central American Court of  
 Justice, created by the Convention which they have con-  
 cluded for that purpose on this date."

This article should be taken together with Articles  
 I and II of the Convention for the Establishment of a  
 Central American Court of Justice (Bulletin of the  
 Bureau of American Republics, 25, 1351): "The High  
 Contracting Parties agree by the present Convention to  
 constitute and maintain a permanent tribunal which shall  
 be called the 'Central American Court of Justice;' to  
 which they bind themselves to submit all controversies  
 or questions which may arise among them, of whatsoever  
 nature and no matter what their origin may be, in case  
 the respective Departments of Foreign Affairs should  
 not have been able to reach an understanding."



Article II. "This court shall also take cognizance of the questions which individuals of one Central American country may raise against any of the other contracting Governments, because of the violation of Treaties or Conventions, and other cases of an international character; no matter whether his own Government supports said claim or not; and provided that the remedies which the laws of the respective country provide against such violation shall have been exhausted and that a denial of justice shall be shown."

6. Italy-Netherlands.

November 28, 1909.

(Moch, 90.)

Art. I. "Les Hautes Parties contractantes s'engagent à soumettre à la Cour Permanente d'arbitrage tous les différends qui viendraient à s'élever entre elles et qui n'auraient pu être résolus par la voie diplomatique, et cela même dans le cas où ces différends auraient leur origine dans des faits antérieurs à la conclusion de la présente convention."

Art. 6. "Dans les questions du ressort des autorités judiciaires nationales, selon les lois territoriales, les parties contractantes ont le droit de ne pas soumettre le différend au jugement arbitral avant que la juridiction nationale compétente se soit prononcée définitivement, sauf le cas de déni de justice."

(Moch classifies the treaty between Italy and Argentine, September 18, 1907, and between Italy and Mexico, October 16, 1907, as unlimited. However, these treaties expressly except differences respecting nationality from arbitration.)

C. Resumé of the treaties. They agree to arbitrate all differences except—

1. Those which can be settled by diplomacy.

All the treaties make this exception, but it does not properly constitute a reservation.

2. Those which affect the principles of the constitution of either country. (Treaty 1.)

Under the prevailing theories of sovereignty and independence of states, such differences are not properly international matters; and may, therefore, be said to be excepting no *international* differences from arbitration. However, as disputes may arise between nations over constitutional matters, this treaty is not generally considered to be unlimited.



3. Those (between individuals) which according to the existing laws of the country (treaties 2, 3, and 6) fall within the jurisdiction of the national courts, unless—
  - a. The difference arises out of the application of a convention between the states (treaties 3 and 4).
  - b. Justice has been denied (treaties 3 and 4); and this is shown (treaties 5 and 6).

From the foregoing it appears that none of the so-called treaties of unlimited arbitration agrees to submit *all* international disputes to arbitration; rather, they contemplate the arbitration of all questions which are *truly international*, and not purely governmental in character.





## XXIV. THE FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE.

May 18-July 29, 1899.

*(Krehbiel)*

## A. Origin: Called by the Czar.

1. "Rescript," August 24, 1898.

2. Second rescript, Jan. 1899. Contained program. (Scott, 4.)

## B. Place: Hague; House in the Woods ("Huis ten Bosch").

## C. Members.

Difficulty as to what powers should be invited.

Russia invited all those having representatives at St. Petersburg. Exceptions.

59 powers claimed sovereignty; 26 were represented.

20 European (Monaco, San Marino, Papacy omitted).

4 Asiatic: China, Japan, Siam, Persia.

2 American: United States, Mexico.

100 Delegates: from 1 to 8 per nation.

Each country had *one* vote.

Delegates seated alphabetically (by countries).

## D. Festivities, ceremonies, etc.

## E. Organization.

Conference: Plenary session. There were 10 of these.

President: Baron de Staal (Russia).

Cabinet consisting of "first delegates."

Steering committee of first delegates of the seven great powers.

## Commissions.

1. Armaments and the use of new kinds of implements.

50 members.

a. Military warfare.

b. Naval warfare.

2. Laws and customs of warfare. 67 members.

a. Military.

b. Naval.

3. Arbitration and other means of preventing war. 59 members.

Commission on Petitions. 15 members.

Commission on Editing. 4 members.

(Each state had right to be represented on a commission and first delegates determined membership.)

## Honorary Offices.



## F. Procedure.

Language: French.

Secret. No stenographic reports.

Objection of reporters, "Ambassadors of the people."

Summaries of each session authorized.

Method of considering propositions.

Deputations, delegations and petitions.

Resolutions of the Conference are of three classes:

1. Conventions.

2. Declarations: achievements.

3. Wishes (*voeux*): projects.

Conference adopted—

Three conventions (Scott, Texts, 21-79).

Three declarations (Scott, 79-85).

Six wishes (Scott, 20-21).

## G. Achievements.

## 1. Conventions.

a. Convention for the peaceful adjustment of international differences. (Scott: Texts, 21-45).

Good offices and mediation to be tried.

International commissions of inquiry pronounced "useful" (and "desirable" in 1907).

Permanent Court of Arbitration established. The best thing accomplished by the first conference.

Nations agreeing to this convention and the proportion of the world's population represented by them.

World's population, 1899: 1,531,463,430.

Signatories, 22 powers, representing 54 per cent. of the world's population.

Signatories with reservation, 4 powers representing 8 per cent. of the world's population.

Total signers 26 powers, representing 62 per cent.

Adhering to the Convention later (not having been represented at The Hague), 18 powers representing 29 per cent.

Total accepting Convention, 44 nations representing 91 per cent. of the world's population.

b. Convention regarding the laws and customs of war on land. (Scott: Texts 45-71.)

Adopted a code of warfare, based on the Lieber Code, which sought not only to alleviate suffering, but to prevent it as well. (Cf. Syllabus XXI.)







## XXV. THE SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE.

June 15-October 18, 1907.

*(Krehbiel)*

## A. Origin. (Scott: Texts, 93-III.)

Requested by the Interparliamentary Union in St. Louis, 1904.

Delegation to President Roosevelt.

Circular of Secretary Hay, 1904.

Roosevelt relinquished the honor of calling the conference to the Czar.

Czar issued invitation and program, April, 1906. (Scott, 103.)

Additions to the program.

Limitation of armaments. United States, Spain, England.

Collection of contract debts. United States.

## B. Place: The Hague; Hall of the Knights ("De Ridderzaal").

## C. Members.

More nations invited than to first conference (South American Republics).

59 states claimed sovereignty: 47 were invited; 44 accepted, equal to more than 96% of the world's population.

21 European states (Norway having become independent).

4 Asiatic.

19 American.

256 delegates: 1 to 15 per country; one vote per country;

delegates seated as before.

## D. Festivities.

Cornerstone of the Palace of Peace laid, July 30. (Carnegie.)

Each country to furnish something in the way of decoration for the structure. (D'Estournelles de Constant.)

## E. Organization.

Conference: plenary sessions, 11 in all.

President: M. Nelidow (Russia).

Steering committee: delegates of the great powers.

Commissions.

## 1. Arbitration.

a. Projects for arbitration and prevention of war, 103 members.

b. Maritime prizes, 89 members.





2. War on land.
  - a. Laws and customs of war on land, 79 members.
  - b. Rights and duties of neutrals on land; and declaration of war. 82 members.
3. War on the sea.
  - a. Bombardment of ports, and the use of submarine mines, torpedoes, etc., 73 members.
  - b. Belligerent ships in neutral waters; and the application of the Geneva Convention to naval warfare, 82 members.
4. Maritime law, 114 members.
- Commission on petitions, 5 members.
- Commission on editing, 29 members.

*F.* Procedure.

Much the same as in the first conference. The proceedings were more open.

The Conference adopted. (Scott: Texts, 135-141.)

13 Conventions

1 Declaration

2 Declarations of principle.

4 Opinions.

1 Desire (besides certain other similar measures).

*G.* Achievements.

1. Convention for the pacific settlement of disputes.

Signed by 35 powers, representing 83% of the world's population.

Signed (with reservation) by 8 powers, representing 13% of world's population.

Abstained from voting, 1 power.

Accepted by 43 powers representing 96% of the world's population (1,668,706,000, in 1907).

Improved the permanent court of arbitration.

Approved the appeal of one party in a contest to the court though the other is unwilling.

Arbitration remained voluntary except:

That force is to be used for the collection of contract debts only after arbitration has failed (Convention II, Scott: Texts, 193-198).

Approved by 34 nations representing 68% of the world's population. 10 nations (28%) did not vote.



When prize is taken in war. This is to be tried before the prize court established by this conference (Convention XII, Scott: Texts, 288-317).

Approved by 31 nations representing 32% of the earth's population.

Not voting, 13 nations representing 64% of the earth's population.

2. Further rules of warfare on land (Conventions III, IV, V. Scott: Texts, 198-240. Lecture XXI).
3. Rules for maritime warfare (Conventions VI-XI; XIII. Scott: Texts, 240-288).

Humanize naval warfare, increase the protection of neutrals, and attempt to "canalize" hostilities.

4. Declaration against the launching of explosives from balloons and air-craft "until the end of the next conference."
5. The Conference "is unanimous: 1, in admitting the principle of compulsory arbitration; 2, in declaring that certain disputes, in particular those relating to the interpretation and application of the provisions of international agreements, may be submitted to compulsory arbitration without any restrictions." (Scott, 137.)
6. The Conference expressed a wish for a third conference to be "held within a period corresponding to that which has elapsed since the preceding conference." The calling of this new conference was taken out of the hands of any one government and given to an international committee which is to meet for that purpose about two years before conference assemblies. Committee has charge of preparing the program.

#### REFERENCES

Same as for preceding lecture.



## XXVI. INTERNATIONAL COURTS.

*(Krehbiel)*

- I. Permanent Court of Arbitration, 1899. (Scott: Texts, pp. 30-45; 170-188.)

## A. Administration of the Court.

1. Permanent Administrative Council consists of diplomatic representatives accredited to The Hague.  
Organizes and administers the International Bureau.
2. International Bureau; record office of court.  
Secretarial in character; has custody of archives.  
Makes necessary preparations and gives its premises for court purposes.  
Publishes the documents of cases determined by the Court.  
Expenses carried by signatory powers in proportion fixed by Universal Postal Union.

## B. Jurisdiction.

1. Competent for all arbitration cases unless parties agree to institute a special tribunal.
2. Non-signatory powers may use court free.

## C. Organization.

1. Judges. (See list of in World Almanac 1911, pp. 129-131.)  
Each power selects four or less persons. Same person may be selected by several powers.  
138 selected (up to March 10, 1910) out of possible 168.  
Term six years; renewable.
2. Judges for any particular case.  
Each disputant selects two judges from list above.  
Only one may be from nation of disputant (1907 amendment).  
These four choose an umpire.  
Failing to agree, selection is entrusted to a third power.  
This failing, each party selects a different power and these two determine the umpire.  
This failing, after two months, each party selects two judges from list above (not nationals) and lot determines which of these is to be umpire (1907).
3. Arbitrators enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.



## D. Operation.

## 1. Preliminaries.

- a. Agreement of nations necessary to bring case before the court (amendment 1907).
- b. "Compromis" (text of this agreement) states difference and arbitrators' powers.
- c. Signatory powers have duty of reminding other states of court.

## 2. Procedure.

- a. To sit at The Hague unless some other place be selected by the arbitrators (1907).
- b. Language to be used determined by the court.
- c. Discussions public only if parties assent.
- d. Recorded in "procès-verbaux."

This supplied to the powers invited to the second Peace Conference as well as to powers which have adhered to the convention (1907).

- e. Deliberations of the Court private ("and remain secret," 1907).

## 3. Award.

- a. Given by majority vote, accompanied by reasons. Minority may record dissent when signing.
- b. Award is binding upon parties.
- c. No appeal from the award.
- d. Revision permitted if:

(1) Stipulated by "compromis" and within time stipulated.

(2) New facts of vital importance are discovered which were unknown at time of award to court and party demanding revision. (Court determines that question, 1907.)

- e. Drawn up in writing and read at a public meeting of the Tribunal, the agents and counsel of the parties being present.

## 4. Expenses.

Each party pays its own and an equal share of the Court's.

## II. Court of Arbitral Justice, 1907. (Scott: Texts pp. 141-154).

## A. Administration.

Administered by International Bureau.

## B. Jurisdiction.

- 1. Cases to be decided on their merits.
- 2. Only signatory powers can use it.





## C. Organization.

1. Composed of judges and deputy judges selected from persons of high standing in their respective countries.

Method of appointment left to individual nations.

2. Term of judges 12 years; equal in rank; seniority.
3. Three judges selected by others form delegation to carry the administrative work of court.
4. Judge not to act in case where his country is a litigant.
5. Salaries paid by International Bureau. No other compensation permitted.
6. Enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

## D. Procedure.

1. Court to meet at fixed times and sit until business is finished.
2. Court selects three judges.
3. Sits at The Hague and cannot be transferred unless absolutely obliged by circumstances.
4. A report of the doings of the court drawn up every year by the delegation and sent to contracting powers.

## III. International Prize Court, 1907. (Scott: pp. 288-317.)

## A. Administration.

1. The Administrative Council fulfills with regard to the Prize Court the same functions as to the Permanent Court of Arbitration but only representatives of contracting powers may be members of it.
2. The International Bureau acts as registry to the Court.

## B. Jurisdiction.

Cases appealed under fixed conditions after having been tried in national courts. No further appeal.

(The agreements of the Declaration of London, 1909, will presumably be the basis of decisions.)

## C. Organization.

1. Composed of judges and deputy judges appointed by the contracting powers.
2. Appointed for six year term; renewable; equal in rank; seniority.
3. 15 in all; 8 powers represented all the time: Germany, United States, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan and Russia. Judges from others sit "by rota." (Scott, pp. 316-7.)
4. Paid by International Bureau. No other compensation.



IV. Central American Court of Justice, 1907. (International Bureau of American Republics, Vol. 25, pp. 1351-7.)

A. Administration.

1. Court elects its own officials, including president, vice-president, secretary, and treasurer.
2. Makes its own rules of procedure.
3. Sits at city of Cartago in Porto Rica unless necessary to move.

B. Jurisdiction.

1. "All controversies or questions which may arise among them of whatsoever nature and no matter what their origin may be, in case the respective Departments of Foreign Affairs should not have been able to reach an understanding."
2. Also international questions which may arise between a Central American government and a foreign government.
3. Questions between an individual and a Central American government.
4. Shall also have jurisdiction over the conflicts which may arise between the legislative, judicial and executive powers.

C. Organization.

1. Five justices, named by the legislative body of the respective powers and also two substitutes from each.
2. Appointed for five years and can carry on no other work during period.
3. All five necessary for a quorum. Agreement of three or more necessary for a decision.
4. Judgments communicated to all five Republics. Binding and final. Salaries paid by treasurer of the court. Expenses borne equally by all nations.

[This agreement is valid for ten years.]



## XXVII. CASES TRIED OR PENDING IN INTERNATIONAL COURTS.

(*Krehbiel*)

*Before the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague.*

### 1. United States of America vs. Mexico.

Referred by Treaty concluded at Washington, May 22, 1902.

Subject: The Pious Funds of the Californias.

Decision of Court given October 14, 1902.

#### a. Documents.

Recueil des Actes et Protocoles concernant le Litige  
du "Fonds Pieux des Californies." La  
Haye, 1902.

Amer. J. Intern. Law 1908, vol. 2: 893; 898.

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#### b. References.

Amer. J. Intern. Law 1902, vol. 1: 303.

J. W. Foster, Hague Arbitrations 137.

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Intern. Year Book 1902, 35.

### 2. British Isles, Germany and Italy, vs. Venezuela.

Referred by Treaty concluded at Washington, May 7, 1903.

Subject: The Affairs of Venezuela.

Decision of Court given February 22, 1904.

#### a. Documents.

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entre L'Allemagne, L'Angleterre, et L'Italie et  
Venezuela, La Haye, 1904.

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3. British Isles, France and Germany vs. Japan.

Referred by Treaty concluded at Tokyo, August 28, 1902.

Question in Dispute: The House Tax in Japan.

Decision of the Court given May 22, 1905.

a. Documents.

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b. References.

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Japan Weekly Mail, 1905, 555-6. 591.

London Times, 1902, 632.

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London Times, 1905, 323.

4. British Isles vs. France.

Referred by Arbitral Compromise at London, October 13, 1904.

Question in Dispute: The "Boutres" (native craft) of Muscat.

Decision of Court given August 8, 1905.

a. Documents.

Recueil des Actes et Protocoles concernant le Différend entre La France et La Grande Bretagne à propos des boutres de Mascate. La Haye, 1905.

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b. References.

Amer. J. Intern. Law, 1904, vol. 1: 6.

Sessional Papers, 1905, vol. CIII, cd. 2380.

Sessional Papers, 1906, vol. CXXVI, cd. 2736.

5. France vs. Germany.

Referred by Protocol signed at Berlin, August 10, 1908.

Question in Dispute: The Deserters at Casablanca.

Decision of Court given May 2, 1909.





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- b. References.  
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Amer. J. Intern. Law, vol. 3: 17, 698, 946.  
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6. Norway vs. Sweden.  
Referred by a Convention between the two countries, March 14, 1908.  
Question in Dispute: The delimitation of the maritime frontier.  
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8. United States vs. Venezuela.  
Referred to arbitration, February 13, 1909.  
Question in Dispute: The Orinoco Steam Navigation Company.  
Decision of Court given October 25, 1910.
  - a. Documents.  
Protocoles des Séances du Tribunal d'Arbitrage . . . au sujet . . . de la Compagnie des bateaux à vapeur "Orinoco," La Haye, 1910.
  - b. References.  
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9. British Isles vs. France.  
Referred by Protocol signed October 25, 1910.  
Question in Dispute: Case of Savarkar.  
Decision of Court given February 24, 1911.
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London Times, 1911, 124; 171 (Extract).
  - b. References.  
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10. Russia vs. Turkey.  
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Question in Dispute: Claims for indemnity for losses in Russo-Turkish War, 1877-8.
11. Italy vs. Peru.  
Question in Dispute: Financial Claim.
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  - a. Documents.  
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  - b. References.  
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## XXVIII. THE SHRINKAGE OF THE EARTH.

(Krehbiel)

(This lecture, which proposes to show the virtual decrease in the size of the earth through the improvement of transportation and communication is based chiefly upon the references given below. A mimeographed syllabus will be issued at the time the lecture is given).

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 Wolff: *Transportation*.  
 V. d. Borgh: *Das Verkehrswesen*.  
 Andree: *Der Weltverkehr und seine Mittel*.  
 Jusserand: *Wayfaring Life*.  
 Cheyney: *European Background to American History*, 22-78.  
 Beazley: *The Dawn of Modern Geography*.  
 Hartmann: *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Posten*.  
 Heyd: *Geschichte des Levant Handels im Mittelalter*.

## STATISTICS UPON THE INCREASE OF COMMUNICATION

## Telegraph.

- Statistical Abst. of U. S. 1910, p. 257 (1866-1910).  
 Sundbärg, 1908, p. 384-5 (1891-1906).  
 Chicago Daily News Al., 1911, p. 59 (1850-1905, by decades).  
 Commercial Year Book, 1900, p. 505 (1867-99, by 5 yr. periods).  
 Ency. Britannica, (11 ed.) p. 527 (1870-1907).  
 Statistical Abst. of Gt. Britain, 1908, p. 306 (for all Europe).

## Cables.

- Chicago Daily News Al., 1911, p. 59 (1850-1905, by decades).  
 World Almanac, 1911, p. 299 (for whole world).  
 Commercial Year Book, 1900, p. 147-8.  
 American Year Book, 1910, p. 260.





## Railroads.

Sundbärg: *Aperçus*, 1908, pp. 368-9 (1825-1910, whole world).

Statist. Abst. of U. S., 1910, pp. 734-8 (all countries).

## Postal Statistics.

Sundbärg, 1908, pp. 380-2.

Statist. Abst. of U. S. 1910, p. 255 (1879-date).

Ency. Britannica (11 ed.) vol. 22, p. 179 (1839-1870, Gt. Br.)

Amer. Al. and Yr. Bk., 1904, p. 522 (1790-1904, U. S.).

## Telephone Statistics.

(None found to be satisfactory.)

## STATISTICS UPON THE INCREASE OF TRAVEL.

Sundbärg: *Aperçus* . . . 1908, p. 379.

Poore: *Railroad Manual*, 1910, Introd. cvii; 1899, ix.

Statistisches Jahrbuch d. deutschen Reiches, 1901, 46;  
1909, 115.

General Railway Reports, Great Britain, 1871-1882, pp. 12,  
14; 15; 17-19; 43.

Mulhall: *Statistics*, 573 (Sea travel).

Statistical Abstract (Great Britain), 1901, 205.

Album de Statistique Graphique.



## XXIX. COSMOPOLITANISM.

*(Krehbiel)*

## A. Private International activities.

## 1. Of individuals or national organizations.

Travel, study (Rhodes scholars; exchange professors).

Interchange of visits by legislators, mayors, prime ministers, rulers, commercial bodies, etc.

Buying and selling in the world market.

Investment in foreign bonds or enterprises.

British Capital invested abroad.

(Economist, Feb. 20, 1909.—Webb, Dict. of Statistics, 81.)

## BRITISH CAPITAL INVESTED IN COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES.

India . . . . .	£470,000,000	Cape Colony ..	98,000,000
Australasia ....	321,000,000	Rhodesia, E. Af.	59,000,000
Canada . . . . .	305,000,000	Natal . . . . .	30,000,000
Transvaal . . . .	220,000,000	Others . . . . .	63,000,000
		Total . . . . .	£1,566,000,000

## BRITISH CAPITAL INVESTED IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

United States .	£485,000,000	Russia . . . . .	45,000,000
Japan . . . . .	115,000,000	Balkan States	
Argentina . . . .	254,000,000	incl. Turkey	
Brazil . . . . .	101,000,000	and Greece.	39,000,000
Egypt . . . . .	97,000,000	Italy, Switzer-	
Mexico . . . . .	51,000,000	land and Aus-	
Ger'y, France,		tria . . . . .	26,000,000
Sweden, Nor-		Spain . . . . .	25,000,000
way, Belgium,		Uruguay . . . .	25,000,000
Denmark . . .	48,000,000	Cuba . . . . .	21,000,000
China . . . . .	47,000,000	Chile . . . . .	42,000,000
		Others . . . . .	63,000,000

Total foreign investment . . . . .£1,484,000,000

Grand total, £3,050,000,000

This is about one-fifth of the total capital of the United Kingdom.



2. Organized international activity. (*La Vie Internationale*, 1908-9, 537-1282.)

A great many interests have international organizations, meetings, and publications. To illustrate this the following are selected. (The names of the associations are here given in a convenient form.)

Libraries.

International Institute of Bibliography.  
International Catalogue of Scientific Literature.  
International Congress of Librarians.

Press.

Reuter's News Service.  
International Press Association.

Legislature.

Interparliamentary Union (1889). One fifth of the members of national legislatures are members of it.

Peace.

International Peace Congresses (1843f).  
International Friendship Societies.

Ethical and Philanthropic.

International Union of Ethical Societies.  
International Congress against Immoral Literature.  
International Congress against Intemperance.  
International Congress of Protectors of Animals.  
International Union against Vivisection.  
International Congress against Duelling.  
Red Cross Society.  
Friends of Young Women.

Religion.

World's Parliament of Religions.  
Eucharistic Congresses.  
Salvation Army.  
Young Men's Christian Association. Over 800,000 members.  
Young Women's Christian Association.

Sociology.

International Institute of Sociology.  
International Institute of Statistics.  
International Colonial Institute.  
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.  
International Penitentiary Commission.



## Labor.

International Socialist Bureau.

International Federation for Sunday Observance.

International Association for the Legal Protection of Laborers.

International Co-operation. (See its Year Book, 1910.)

## Law and Government.

International Law Association.

International Alliance for Woman Suffrage.

International Association of Lawyers.

## Insurance.

International Congress of Actuaries.

## Education.

Universal Federation of Christian Students.

Cosmopolitan Club, affiliated with Corda Fratres, 1911.

(Various Congresses have been held.)

## Commerce and Transportation.

International Railway Association.

International Marine Association.

## Philology.

(International Languages: Volapük, Langue Bleue, Ido, Esperanto.)

## Sciences; pure and applied.

(Many of them have international organizations.)

International Medical Association against War.

## Geography.

International Congress of Geography.

International Geodesy. (Plans a world map.)

International Polar Commission.

## Fine Arts.

International Institute of Public Art.

## Sports.

Olympic Games.

International Aeronautical Federation.

## B. Public International Activities.

## 1. Non-political.

Universal Postal Union (1878).

Over 60 states are members. Headquarters Berne.

Universal Telegraph Union (1875).

About 30 members.

Convention Concerning the Metric System (1875).

About 23 states have accepted it.





Union for the Protection of Industrial Property (1883).

About 19 members. Headquarters Berne.

Union for the Protection of Works of Literature and Art (1886).

About 15 states are members. Headquarters Berne.

Union Concerning Railway Transports and Freights (1890).

9 states are members. Headquarters Berne.

Union for the Publication of Customs Tariffs (1890).

About 30 members. Headquarters Brussels.

Phylloxera Conventions (1878, 1881).

12 members.

Convention Concerning Private International Law (1893, 1896, 1900).

About 15 members. (Library contains documents of first and third meetings.)

Sanitary Conventions.

Cholera (1893, 1894, 1899).

Plague (1897, 1900).

Monetary Unions.

Latin Monetary Union (1865). 5 members.

Scandinavian Monetary Union (1873). 3 members.

Universal Monetary Conference (1892).

17 states represented: no practical result.

Convention for the Suppression of the Slave-trade (1892).

Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals in Africa (1900).

7 signatories.

Convention Concerning Bounties on Sugar (1902).

About 12 members. Headquarters Brussels.

Others of the same kind relating to trade in arms, spirituous liquors (1899, 1906), the use of international rivers, canals and waterways generally, protection of ocean cables, radiotelegraphy, rules of traffic at sea, international signal code, fishing on the high seas, protection of travelers, exchange, exchange of documents, agriculture (1905), scientific expeditions, World's prime meridian (1884), "white slavery" (1904), etc.

## 2. Political (at least in some measure).

a. Inter-governmental conferences, congresses, treaties, etc.

Final Act of the Congress of Vienna (1815).  
"Concert."



The Holy Alliance (1815).  
 Protocol of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle (1818).  
 Treaty of London (1831). Neutralization of Belgium.  
 Declaration of Paris (1856).  
 Geneva Convention (1864). Treatment of wounded in war.  
 Treaty of London (1867). Neutralization of Luxemburg.  
 Declaration of St. Petersburg (1868). Projectiles in war.  
 Congress of Berlin (1878). Near Eastern Question.  
 General Act of the Congo Conference (1885).  
 Treaty of Constantinople (1888). Suez Canal neutral.  
 Pan-American Conferences (1889-90; 1901, 1906, 1910).  
 Final Act of The Hague Peace Conference (1899).  
 Treaty of Washington (1901). Neutralizes Panama Canal.  
 Algeciras Conference (1906).  
 Central American Conferences (1906, 1907).  
 The Second Hague Conference (1907).  
 The Declaration of London (1909). Private property at sea, etc.  
 (And many others).

b. Intergovernmental Administration.

Intervention.

Austria (Concert ?) in Naples (1821).  
 France (Concert ?) in Spain (1823).  
 Russia, England, France in favor of Greece (1829).  
 England, France, Piedmont against Russia (1854-6).  
 Europe against Russia (1877-8). Congress of Berlin.  
 United States in Cuba (1898).  
 Bureau of American Republics.  
 Central American Bureau.  
 Central American Court of Justice (All differences of any nature whatsoever are to be arbitrated by this court).  
 Permanent International Bureau at The Hague.  
 The Hague Tribunal (1899).  
 The International Prize Court (1907).  
 The Court of Arbitral Justice (1907).



## C. International Conferences etc., summarized.

## 1. Number between 1843 and 1910: 1977+.

Within that time their number has steadily increased.

1840-1860..... 28 international congresses

1861-1870..... 69

1871-1880..... 150

1881-1890..... 295

1891-1900..... 645

1901-1910..... 790

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1840-1910.....1977 international congresses

(*La Vie Internationale*, 1908-9, i. 175.)

2. Three stages in their history. (*La Vie Intern.* 1908, i, 46-7.)

a. Formation of a scientific organization and the invitation of foreigners to join it. Originated in Germany, about 1823.

b. Creation of large official organizations. Begun about 1860.

c. Formation of independent associations with or without state aid. Since 1895.

## 3. Headquarters.

a. Some have none.

b. Fixed: Berne, Brussels, and lately The Hague, favorites.

c. Itinerant.

## D. Results.

1. International life and thought.

2. Supernational law and administration.

3. Reduction of national prejudices.

4. Change of Conceptions of Patriotism "New Patriotism." "Above the nations is humanity."—(Goldwin Smith bench at Cornell.)

5. Schemes of world federation.

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Bridgman: *World Organization*.

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Trueblood: *Federation of the World*.

Farrer: *The New Leviathan*.

Crafts: *A Primer of the Science of Internationalism*.

Crosby: *Constitution for the United States of the World*.

Eykman: *Internationalism and the World's Capital*. Ind., 61, 200.

Westm. 165; 250 *Imperialism, Nationalism, and Internationalism*.

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Reinsch: International Government.

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Holt: Dawn of the World's Peace, *World's Work*, 21, 14128f.

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Spiller: Inter-Racial Problems, 57; 233-260. (Bibliography.)

Fried: Pan-Amerika.

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Internoscia: New Code of International Law.

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Bourgeois, L.: Pour la société de nations (*Le Figaro*, 20, XI).

Bolce: New Internationalism.

Year Book of International Co-operation, First Year, 1910.

Finance and Commerce. Their Relation to International Good Will. (Am. Assoc. for Int. Conc. No. 50.)

Hammond: The Business Man's Interest in Peace—Why Not Neutralize China? (Maryland Peace Society, No. 8.)





## XXX. MEANS OF ANTAGONIZING WAR.

(Jordan)

- A. Advocates of peace have various projects for accomplishing their desire.
1. Critique of war. (Destructive.)
  2. Agitation against certain kinds of war only.
  3. Limitation of armaments.
 

The treaty between Chile and Argentine of May 28, 1902, provides for a limitation of armaments. It is the only treaty of its kind.
  4. Total disarmament.
  5. Peaceable readjustment of boundaries to remove present disputes.
  6. Neutralization of boundaries or countries.
  7. Improving world law.
 

Codification.  
Providing for periodical meetings of the world legislature.  
Increasing the scope of world legislation.
  8. Improving the system of arbitration.
 

Increasing the scope of arbitration. Unlimited treaties.  
Providing for judicial settlement of differences.  
(American Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, Baltimore.)  
General treaty of arbitration to be signed by *all* powers.  
Inserting a clause in the constitution of countries binding them by their fundamental law to resort to arbitration.  
This has been done by Brazil (constitution of 1891, article 34) and Venezuela (constitution of 1904, article 120). Moch, 61-2.  
Making arbitration compulsory, by giving some sanction to the mandates of the world court, such as the right to summon disputants, or enjoin them, etc. This is equivalent to establishing a world executive. (See Lecture XXXII.)
- B. Means of promoting peace.
1. Investigation of the results of war.
  2. Impartial and deliberate investigation of the facts of an international difference *before*, instead of after, the war.
  3. Publicity of the facts in all disputes.



4. Organizations and societies.
5. International activities.  
Travel, trade, foreign investment, world congresses, reciprocity, free trade.
6. International languages.
7. Pictures, photographs, cartoons, etc. (Vereschthagin.)
8. Museums. Lucerne Peace Museum.
9. Exhibits at expositions, etc.
10. Bureau of information, to furnish information about war and peace to the press, speakers, legislators, schools, etc.
11. Prizes (Nobel), contests, debates, etc.
12. Endowments to support peace propaganda.  
World Peace Foundation, Edwin Ginn, \$1,000,000.  
Carnegie Peace Endowment, Andrew Carnegie, \$10,000,000.
13. Propaganda by means of books, journals, pamphlets, circulars, calendars, almanacs, cards, lectures, etc.
14. Petitions. (Eckstein.)
15. Education (in the schools). (Lecture XXXI.)

#### C. Woman and war.

1. Sees and concerns herself more about social and economic evils; and will want to have these removed in place of indulging in war.
2. Is less combative by nature than man; is opposed to *violence*.
3. Is less destructive and wasteful than man.
4. Often experiences the losses and consequences of war more keenly than man.
5. Her finer nature revolts at brutality and vulgarity everywhere, and therefore in the army and in barracks.
6. Suffrage gives her the power to express her opinion effectively.  
Voting without bearing arms.
7. Woman does not lack courage; instead she has a kind of courage that very few men can equal.
8. International marriages.



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- Photographic History of the Civil War. (Only four volumes issued.)
- Documents Interparlementaire, No. 5. La limitation conventionnelle des armements et l'arbitrage international.
- D'Estournelles de Constant: Woman and the Cause of Peace. (Am. Assoc. for Int. Conc. No. 40.)
- Suttner: Ground Arms!



## XXXI. EDUCATION FOR PEACE.

(Krehbiel)

- A. Education (study, travel, reading, etc.), if at all impartial, has a tendency to remove bias and prejudices of all kinds. The removal of international and inter-racial prejudices is a proper function of education.
- B. Education for peace should begin with childhood in the home and the schools. Boy scouts.
- C. Education may aid the cause of peace by—
  - 1. Teaching all subjects as honestly as possible.
  - 2. Admitting the part played by other peoples in civilization.
  - 3. Discouraging superficial patriotism of the noisy, public sort, which stands for "my country right or wrong," and encouraging that patriotism which desires to have one's nation be right, not wrong.
- D. Peace ideals may be inculcated by the method of teaching, or by the emphasis placed upon special subjects.
  - 1. Literature.
 

Guarding against the romantic in literature, to prevent it from obscuring the truth and giving distorted conceptions.

Works based on fact may ring false: "Charge of the Light Brigade."

Works founded on imagination may ring true: A Note on Romance, *Atlantic M.*, Aug. 1911.
  - 2. Commercial geography. Bringing out the economic interdependence of the whole earth.
  - 3. Contemporary politics.
 

Showing that the problems of all civilized nations are similar.

Noting that there is often a distinction between a government and the state; for example, that "Russia" does not connote a homogeneous unity.
  - 4. The relation of brute force to intellect and the value of deliberation and the investigation of facts before, rather than after, a war.
  - 5. International ethics. Any reflection upon this theme is likely to be fruitful for peace.
  - 6. Chairs of international institutions at colleges and universities.
  - 7. Schools of peace; or peace courses.





*E. History.*

1. It should try to teach the truth. The truth about the past will deprive war of much glamor.

The truth about service in the army as a private.

The truth about the fruits of war.

The frequent failure of war to settle or improve matters.

2. Continuity of history should be emphasized. History is genetic, not cataclysmic.

Results of this conception.

There is growth in time of peace as well as in war.

War is not the motive force of progress, but merely the clash of forces resulting from progress.

Progress does not necessarily mean war, as ideas absolutely subversive of accepted beliefs have made their way without bloodshed: Darwinism.

The only solid progress is that which comes from sound growth; progress forced by war alone is not lasting.

Progress in peace versus progress in war.

3. History should be made more nearly a "biography of man." instead of a record of his political doings.

Should touch all sides of human endeavor.

Should measure the success or expediency of any procedure in terms of all of man's interests, instead of merely in terms of political consequences. A step which has good political consequences, may be bad considered from an economic, social or moral point of view.

The objection of time: it is impossible to teach all sides of history in the time allotted to the subject.

This does not justify teaching what is untrue.

If anything is to be omitted it should be the interesting rather than the true. (The reverse has been too common.)

4. Writers of texts of history have already begun to reduce the space given to wars and to increase other matter in proportion.



## UNITED STATES HISTORY—THE WAR OF 1812.

	QUACKENBOS <sup>1</sup>	HOLMES <sup>2</sup>	MONTGOMERY <sup>3</sup>	HART <sup>4</sup>
Pages in book ....	458	323	365	583
Total pages to war	218	123	145	113
Percentage....	47.6%	38%	39.7%	19.3%
Pages to this war..	44	12	6	8
Percentage....	9.6%	3.7%	1.6%	1.3%
Detailing maneuvers	32½	5½	5	3
Percentage....	7%	1.7%	1.3%	.5%
Total illustrations in book.....	63	87	82	146
Illustrations to this war .....	8	5	4	5
Percentage....	12.7%	5.7%	4.9%	3.4%
Total maps in book	42	7	72	56
Maps for this war	9	1	5	1
Percentage....	21.4%	14.3%	6.9%	1.8%

<sup>1</sup> Quackenbos: Illustrated School History of the United States, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Holmes: Sheldon's History of the United States, 1884.

<sup>3</sup> Montgomery: American History, 1896.

<sup>4</sup> Hart: Essentials in American History, 1905.

## GREEK HISTORY—PELOPONNESIAN WAR, 431-404 B. C.

	GILLIE <sup>1</sup>	PINNOCK <sup>2</sup>	OMAN <sup>3</sup>	MOREY <sup>4</sup>
Pages in book ....	475	384	546	353
Total to war ....	216	174	319	43½
Percentage....	45.5%	45.3%	58.4%	12.3%
Pages to this war..	80	52	126	13
Percentage....	16.8%	13.5%	23.1%	3.7%
Detailing maneuvers	19	19	48	6
Percentage....	4%	5%	8.8%	1.7%
Total illustrations in book.....	0	32	0	97
Illustrations to this war .....	0	4	0	1
Percentage....		12.5%		1%
Total maps in book	1	2	12	40
Maps for this war	0	2	4	5
Percentage....		100%	33.3%	12.5%

<sup>1</sup> Gillie: History of Ancient Greece, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Pinnock: Goldsmith's Greece, 1851.

<sup>3</sup> Oman: History of Greece, 1895. (Oman is a writer on the history of war.)

<sup>4</sup> Morey: Outlines of Greek History, 1903.



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## XXXII. WORLD FEDERATION.

(Krehbiel)

- A. Federations have been successful on the whole.
1. The Achaian League, B. C. 281-146.
  2. The Swiss Confederation, A. D. 1291-date.
  3. The United Provinces, A. D. 1579-1795.
  4. United States, 1789-date.
  5. German Empire, (1866) 1871-date. (Confederation.)
- B. The steady improvement of means of transportation and communication has produced a tendency in modern history for nations to draw together, and for human interests in all countries to become alike.
- Certain acts of states point in the direction of federation.
- Central American Union.
- Pan-American Union.
- Similar propositions for other countries are not uncommon.
- C. Schemes proposed to compel bellicose nations to keep the peace.
1. Leagues of neutrals, or peace syndicates. (Molinari 258, 287.)
  2. International protests against war.
  3. Boycott of nations which make war. Refusing to recognize its officials, its acts, papers, stamps, citizens, ships, goods, declining to trade with it, refusing loans, cancelling bonds and stocks listed at boards of trade, etc.
  4. Pacific blockade.
  5. International police.
- (The last two suggestions imply an international executive.)
- D. The world executive.
1. Character of the executive: no different from executive arrangements known today.
    - a. An individual.
    - b. A commission.
  2. Source of authority of the executive.
    - a. From the several states acting jointly; giving the executive the powers of ambassadors.
    - b. From the *people* of the several states; a true federation, making the several states subject to the world executive.









## XXXIII. PRESENT PEACE WORKERS.

*(Jordan)*



## APPENDIX.

*Peace Periodicals.*

The Arbitrator (London).  
 Concord (London).  
 Advocate of Peace (Washington).  
 The Messenger of Peace (Richmond).  
 Peace and Goodwill (Wisbech).  
 The Cosmopolitan Student (Madison).  
 The Herald of Peace (London).  
 Friedens-warte (Berlin, Vienna, Leipzig).  
 Völkerfriede (formerly "Friedensblätter". (Esslingen.)  
 La Paix par Le Droit (Paris).  
 Etats-Unis d'Europe (Berne).  
 La Paix (Geneva).  
 Revue de La Paix (Paris).  
 La Vita Internazionale (Milan).  
 Vrede door Recht (Hague).  
 Fredsbladet (Copenhagen).  
 Fredsfanan (Stockholm).  
 Fredstidende (Copenhagen).  
 Wainmoinen (Tampere, Finland).  
 See La Fontaine: Bibliographie, p. 128f.)

*Fiction, and the like.*

Suttner, Bertha von: Ground Arms! (Lay Down Your Arms.)  
 Tolstoi: War and Peace.  
 Zola: The Downfall.  
 Gribble: The Dream of Peace.  
 Crosby: Captain Jinks, Hero.  
 Wells: In the Days of the Comet.  
 Sturge: The Patriot.  
 Crane: The Red Badge of Courage.  
 Andreieff: The Red Laugh.  
 Buchanan: The Shadow of the Sword.  
 Schreiner, Olive: Trooper Peter Halket of Mashonaland.  
 Decle: Trooper 3809.  
 Erckmann-Chatrain: The Conscript.



Tolstoi: Sevastopol.

Wiegand and Schauermañ: The Wages of War. Poet Lore, 1908.

Comfort: Routledge Rides Alone.

Ular, A.: Die Zwergenschlacht.

Severine: A Sainte-Hélène.

Stefane-Pol: Vers L'Avenir.

Richet: Fables et Récits Pacifiques.

*Biography.*

Peace Year Book. Appendix.

(A "Who's Who" in the peace movement is preparing.)





# THE FINANCIAL CONDITION OF EUROPEAN AND OTHER LEADING GOVERNMENTS.

	WEALTH <sup>1</sup> PER CAPITA	WEALTH <sup>2</sup> (IN MILLIONS)	DEBT <sup>3</sup> PER CAPITA	DEBT	DATE <sup>5</sup>	INTEREST <sup>4</sup> AND OTHER ANNUAL CHARGES	INTEREST <sup>3</sup> PER CAPITA	WAR <sup>6</sup> EXPENDITURE	WAR <sup>6</sup> EXPENDITURE PER CAPITA
United States .....	\$1,208.90	\$110,000	\$ 11.42	\$ 1,023,861,531	1909	\$ 21,803,836	\$ .24	\$192,949,820	\$ 2.12
Japan .....	.....	.....	26.15	1,287,604,261	1910	76,283,536	1.55	.....	..
China .....	.....	.....	182.33	601,916,605	1908	92,375,017	.28	.....	..
Canada .....	.....	.....	45.09	323,930,279	1909	11,931,537	1.66	.....	..
United Kingdom..	1,293.33	58,200	82.38	3,669,931,350	1909	152,759,411	3.43	287,919,330	6.34
Turkey .....	.....	.....	21.92	527,983,636	1909	36,494,753	1.52	28,056,640	.81
Switzerland .....	648.64	2,400	72.32	257,400,446	1909	10,272,786	2.89	8,478,490	2.27
Sweden .....	.....	.....	25.68	138,120,699	1909	5,520,096	1.03	21,482,830	3.92
Spain .....	276.92	5,400	92.21	1,817,674,327	1910	78,709,000	3.99	37,748,870	1.92
Russia .....	215.51	35,000	30.58	4,558,152,565	1909	204,766,421	1.37	236,828,370	1.47
Roumania .....	.....	.....	41.50	277,383,133	1910	16,395,744	2.45	9,412,610	1.37
Portugal .....	462.96	2,500	159.13	864,561,212	1909	29,907,983	5.50	11,076,270	2.04
Norway .....	.....	.....	37.88	88,253,614	1909	5,338,702	2.29	4,788,330	2.13
The Netherlands..	775.86	4,500	77.48	451,309,203	1910	14,606,371	2.51	18,938,730	3.22
Italy .....	382.35	13,000	75.94	2,602,299,757	1909	96,941,138	2.83	80,027,680	2.34
Greece .....	.....	.....	59.98	157,877,067	1909	5,940,324	2.25	3,248,190	1.24
German Empire ..	738.46	48,000	17.38	1,094,790,575	1908	46,836,044	.74	261,661,680	4.03
German States ..	.....	.....	50.23	3,175,698,141	1908	132,942,135	2.10	.....	..
France .....	1,302.56	50,800	150.09	5,898,675,451	1909	186,802,380	4.75	210,786,880	5.37
Denmark .....	.....	.....	25.88	68,057,934	1908-9	2,753,263	1.05	5,473,480	2.10
Austria-Hungary	869.56	20,000	21.06	1,063,725,105	1909	60,467,407	1.20	97,544,130	4.20
Belgium .....	1,030.30	6,800	89.91	663,325,145	.....	27,022,108	3.66	11,020,300	1.64
Finland .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	..	46,320	..
Bulgaria .....	.....	.....	22.49	93,500,973	.....	6,367,018	1.53	5,562,260	1.37
Average, European	.....	.....	60.73	.....	.....	.....	2.478	.....	2.65
countries .....	726.95	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Totals, European	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
countries .....	.....	.....	.....	27,468,719,433	.....	1,121,772,264	..	1,341,301,390	..

<sup>1</sup> Cols. 1 and 9 were obtained by dividing by the population as stated in Statesman's Year Book, 1909. The populations are for 1908—except Portugal, which is for 1900, Greece for 1907, France for 1906, Belgium for 1900, and Bulgaria for 1905.

<sup>2</sup> Bliss's Encyclopedia of Social Reform, p. 1279, quoting Social Progress (1906) p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> U. S. Statistical Abstract, 1909, p. 774.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 774.

<sup>5</sup> Sundbäck, Aperçus Statistiques Internationaux XI. 1908. Table 114, p.161.











